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ILLUSTRATIONS
OF
BRITISH HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND MANNERS,
IN THE REIGNS OF
HENRY VIII, EDWARD VI, MARY, ELIZABETH, & JAMES, I.

B. BENSLEY, PRINTER,
PHIPPS-BRIDGE, MITCHAM.





Edward Tillyer, Esq.

ILLUSTRATIONS
OF
BRITISH HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND MANNERS,
IN THE REIGNS OF
HENRY VIII, EDWARD VI, MARY, ELIZABETH, & JAMES I,
EXHIBITED IN A SERIES OF
ORIGINAL PAPERS,
SELECTED FROM THE MSS.
OF THE NOBLE FAMILIES OF HOWARD, TALBOT, AND CECIL;
CONTAINING,
AMONG A VARIETY OF INTERESTING PIECES,
A GREAT PART OF THE
CORRESPONDENCE OF ELIZABETH AND HER MINISTERS
WITH GEORGE, SIXTH EARL OF SHREWSBURY,
DURING THE FIFTEEN YEARS IN WHICH
Mary, Queen of Scots,
REMAINED IN HIS CUSTODY.



WITH NUMEROUS
NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS
BY EDMUND LODGE, ESQ.,
K.H., NORROY KING OF ARMS, & F.S.A.

SECOND EDITION,
WITH ADDITIONS, REVISED AND CORRECTED.

IN THREE VOLUMES.
VOL. I.

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1085.



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P R E F A C E

T O T H E N E W E D I T I O N.

THE large Introduction originally prefixed to, and still forming so important a part of, the following sheets might appear to render the usual formality of a Preface to this new and long projected Edition a work of supererogation. Little more seems to be now required than to state, shortly, the additions and other alterations which have been here adopted. Among the most material, perhaps, of them is the modernised orthography of the original papers, which, however unnecessary, and perhaps even unacceptable, to antiquarian readers, frequently rendered those originals repulsive, and all but useless, to those of the present day.

In examining, with the care and attention which such a task required, and making a selection of such papers as seemed to have an incontrovertible claim to insertion, founded on their singular curiosity and undoubted historical authenticity, an infinite mass of miscellaneous matter presented

itself, which, though not of sufficient interest for general publication, exhibited an ample variety of information relative to the histories of the patrician Houses of England and Scotland, their mansions, estates, and genealogies : of this collection, consisting of the manuscript contents of fifteen large folio volumes, as I was under the necessity of reading and considering every individual document, I took the trouble, as I proceeded, of making what the French would call a Catalogue Raisonné of the whole, which, under the title of “Unpublished Talbot Papers,” has long remained in my library, and is now added, by way of supplement, to these volumes.

April, 1838.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

TO THE

FIRST EDITION.

THE advantages which may be derived from the publication of ancient original papers have been so frequently and so amply discussed that little remains to be said in the general recommendation of such collections. They present to us a series of facts too numerous, and too minute, to be inserted in the history of a country: yet on these communications the historian must in a great measure depend, as the surest guides to truth, the only safeguards against partiality, and the lights which will direct him to the first principles of his literary duty. Minute historical facts are to history as the nerves and sinews, the veins and arteries, are to an animated body: they may not separately exhibit much of use, elegance, or just proportion, but, taken collectively, they furnish strength, spirit, and existence itself. A historian who has neglected to study them knows but the worst half of his profession, and, like a surgeon who is ignorant of anatomy, sinks into a mere manual operator. Unfortunately, however, the modern author of a general history usually contents himself with compiling from the most reputable of his predecessors. He sees only the more bold and prominent features of the picture he is about to copy, or to caricature, and heightens or depresses them as his

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fancy, or rather a sort of party spirit, leads him. He seems to think the scale of his canvas too extensive for the admission of delicate lights and shades, but, as he cannot do without light and shade, he introduces them blended in large and distorted masses, and sacrifices the truth of his subject to the splendor of composition.

But these miscellaneous gleanings of antiquity always contain much information of another order, which, from certain ill-founded notions of the dignity fancifully attached to the study of history, it hath been the fashion to exclude from publications of this kind. Under this head may be classed anecdotes of eminent persons, who here become their own biographers, and involuntarily present their characters to the view of posterity; the disclosure of the minute springs of political plans, whose almost imperceptible influence probably yet exists in our system; the communication of obsolete customs, peculiar to every age, which, not being properly within the province of history, have hitherto remained unnoticed; and a variety of circumstances of smaller importance, on which the apt phrase *nugae antiquae* reflects no discredit; which generally impart some degree of useful knowledge, and, at the worst, afford an innocent and an elegant amusement.

For genuine illustrations, then, of history, biography, and manners, we must chiefly rely on ancient original papers. To them we must turn for the correction of past errors; for a supply of future materials; and for proofs of whatever has already been delivered to us. Our attention, however, has been of late so frequently attracted in vain by pretences of new lights, and extraordinary discoveries, as to render all promises of that kind suspicious. As to the peculiar contents, therefore, of the following pages, their own merits must plead for them; they are before the public, and will meet with the reception which they deserve. It is neither prudent nor modest in an editor of these days to insist

on the ancient right of conducting his reader to the choicest curiosities of his cabinet: they will derive no additional credit from his boasting, and can suffer no injury from his silence.

These few observations premised, the Editor begs leave to state briefly the several sources whence the following papers have been obtained; the plan which he has adopted for their arrangement; and the means whereby he has attempted to elucidate their contents; and will conclude with some account of the four Earls of Shrewsbury, whose venerable remains have supplied the chief part of the collection.

The manuscripts, distinguished by the title “Talbot Papers,” were extracted from fifteen volumes which are preserved in the library of the College of Arms, to which they were given, with many others of singular curiosity, by Henry, sixth Duke of Norfolk of the Howards. They contain upwards of six thousand original letters to, or from, the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh, Earls of Shrewsbury; besides many valuable public papers which are foreign from the intention of this work; such as royal surveys, muster-rolls of several of the midland counties, abbey leases, and other topographical matters of importance. The chapter books of the College are nearly silent with respect to this splendid gift, and we must have contented ourselves with merely knowing that the collection still existed there, but for a MS. with the loan of which his Grace the late Duke of Roxburgh honoured the Editor. It consists of transcripts from several of the Talbot papers, and was probably once the property of the laborious Mr. Strype, as extracts from some of the letters contained in it are to be found scattered in his various works, and may perhaps be occasionally recognized by the reader of the following sheets. Two memoranda, which appear at the beginning of the book, afford us as much intelligence as the subject requires:

“ The courteous reader is likewise desired to take
“ notice that, by the favour of the Right Honourable the
“ Earl of Norwich, I, having access to the evidences in
“ Sheffield Manor, 1671, at several tynes, from amids
“ multitudes of waste papers, and the havoc that mice,
“ rats, and wet, had made, I rescued these letters, and
“ as many more as I have bound up in fifteen volums,
“ and have more to get bound; wherby they may be
“ perfected for the use of posterity, in my Lord Mar-
“ shall’s library, or where else his Lordship will please
“ to dispose of them. May 14, 1677.

“N. JOHNSTON.”

To these persons then we find that Henry, Earl of Norwich (soon after Duke of Norfolk), committed the charge of examining and methodizing this great body of papers. The former was John Hopkinson, of Loft-house, near Wakefield, Clerk of the Peace for the West Riding of Yorkshire: the latter, Nathaniel Johnston, a physician at Pontefract. Both were antiquaries of some eminence;* yet the Talbot Manuscripts are most confusedly arranged; and the dates, and even the signatures, are frequently mis-stated in the indorsements, which are written by Doctor Johnston.

In one of the foregoing minutes Doctor Johnston clearly points out the second division of our papers. He tells us that he had yet "more to get bound." From that residue, which has been above a century buried in the multiplicity of MSS. belonging to his Grace's family, the late Duke of Norfolk was pleased

* See Mr. Gough's Anec. of Brit. Topography, vol. ii.

to permit the editor to select those pieces which it has been thought fit to denominate "Howard Papers;" not only because they have been retained in the possession of that noble house, but on account of the large additions made to the original collection by Thomas, second Earl of Arundel. The whole consists of about five hundred letters; the superior importance of which, with regard to the secret history of Mary's imprisonment, as well as many passages on other delicate subjects in the Unpublished MSS., seem to indicate that the separation of them from the Talbot Papers was not merely accidental.

The Cecil Papers came about fifty years since into the possession of the Editor's father, as residuary legatee to a lady whose maiden name was Nelme; and who was first married to one of the ancient Surrey family of Byne, and afterwards to the Rev. William Hollier, Vicar of Carshalton, in that county. It may possibly be discovered from this statement how they fell into her hands, of which the Editor confesses himself to be wholly ignorant. They comprise about one thousand original MSS., which evidently appear to have been detached from the vast treasure of state relics at Hatfield, previously to the publications of Haynes and Murdin, and supply many links in the curious chain of correspondence which those gentlemen disclosed. They are of several dates, from the commencement of Sir William's Cecil's ministry under Edward the Sixth to the death of the first Earl of Salisbury; so seldom connected with each other; and of such various degrees of merit, that there can be little doubt of their having been hastily snatched from their proper repository by an illicit hand. Impressed with this opinion, the Editor did himself the honour of presenting them to the late Marquis of Salisbury, and they are now in the possession of his Lordship's noble successor.

From these united funds comes the selection which is here offered to the public. With regard to the arrange-

ment of its ancient materials, and the general method of the work, a very few words will be necessary. The papers are placed, as nearly as their dates could be ascertained, in a precise chronological order; and are no otherwise divided than into four sections, by the several accessions of the monarchs to whose reigns they respectively belong. They were originally literally transcribed, even to the retention of their abbreviations; not with that whimsical taste which suffers inscriptions to remain illegible rather than remove the rust which obscures them, but for the sake of certain valuable intelligence with regard to our language which might be fairly expected from the observation of the varied orthography of a whole century. Those readers, however, to whom such a help may be necessary will meet with a key to such of these difficulties as still remain in a table which precedes the papers.*

In the notes will be found explanations of obscurities in the text; historical illustrations of important passages; notices of persons and places casually mentioned in the letters; and memoirs, at greater length, of the several writers. These numerous scraps of information were chiefly collected in the College of Arms; the Editor's official connection with which irresistibly tempted him to avail himself of those extensive aids to British history and biography, under the Tudors and the Stuarts, which its most curious library peculiarly affords.

It is in order to prevent an unreasonable increase of the marginal observations that the Editor proposes to make some slight additions in this place to the many particulars of the illustrious house of Talbot which will be found in the following sheets.

George, Earl of Shrewsbury, with whose correspondence our collection opens, was the eldest son of John, the third Earl of his family, by Catherine, daughter of

* As the orthography, &c. has been modernized in this edition, of course it was unnecessary to retain the "table."

Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, and succeeded his father, June 28, 1473. In 1487, being then in his nineteenth year, he fought, in the presence of Henry VII., at the bloody battle of Stoke, and, in the autumn of 1491, attended him in his warlike expedition to Boulogne. He is said to have been a Privy Counsellor to that Prince; and Collins's Peerage, upon the weak authority of Polydor Virgil, informs us that he was sworn in 1485, which is most improbable, for he was then barely sixteen years old. In the following reign, however, we find him a member of that council with which it commenced, composed, as Lord Herbert says, "of scholars and soldiers." Henry VIII. likewise, at his accession, gave him the honourable office of Steward of the Household; in 1513, appointed him Captain of the Vanguard in the army which besieged Therouenne; and, in 1522, Lieutenant General of the North. He was an evidence in the great cause between the King and Catherine of Arragon, his deposition on which is preserved by the noble author lately quoted. It was favourable to the King's purpose, and consequently adverse to Wolsey, among whose enemies the Earl now ranked himself; and we accordingly find him a subscriber to the articles which were preferred against that prelate on the 1st of December, 1529, and also to that earnest letter of the 30th of July, in the following year, by which the Parliament conjured the Pope to pass the sentence of divorce. The Cardinal, who was soon after arrested at his episcopal house of Cawood, was permitted, on his way towards London, to repose himself for a fortnight in the Earl's custody. During this sojournment in Sheffield Castle, where he experienced the most kind and delicate treatment, Wolsey was attacked by the disease which carried him off at Leicester Abbey. In 1536, the Earl, then nearly seventy years of age, appeared again in the field, and, by a timely, but dangerous service, had the

chief share in quelling Aske's rebellion. Upon this pressing occasion, finding himself at a great distance from the Court, and surrounded by a barbarous people, who grew every hour more disaffected, he ventured on the bold measure of raising troops by his own personal authority, and had nearly subdued the insurgents in Yorkshire before the arrival of his pardon, which, from a Prince of Henry's character, he was by no means sure of obtaining. This was the last memorable act of his life. He died at his manor of Wingfield, in Derbyshire, July 26, 1541, and was buried at Sheffield, where his magnificent monument remains. Dugdale's Baronage informs us that he ordered by his will, "dated August 29, in the 29th of Henry VIII., that a tomb of marble should be set over his grave, with three images to be laid therein; one for himself, in a mantle of garters; another of his deceased wife, in her robes; and the third, of his wife, then living;" but the latter lies, with her family, at Erith, in Kent.

This great Peer had by the former of these ladies (Anne, daughter of the amiable and unfortunate Lord Hastings) eleven children. Henry, who died young, and was buried in the Priory of Calke, in Derbyshire; Francis, his successor; two sons, successively baptized John, who died infants; William, styled in the family pedigrees Marshal of Ireland; and Richard. The daughters were, Margaret, wife to Henry Clifford, first Earl of Cumberland; Anne; Dorothy; Mary, married to Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland; and Elizabeth, to William Lord Dacre, of Gillesland. His second Countess, Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of Sir Richard Walden, of Erith, brought him a son and a daughter: John, who died unmarried; and Anne, married first to Peter Compton, son and heir of Sir William Compton, Knight, and, secondly, to William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke.

Francis, the fifth Earl, though a nobleman of no

ordinary abilities, appears to have been confined almost entirely to a military life, and his services in that line are largely detailed in the first volume of this work. He was born in Sheffield Castle in the year 1500, and was summoned to the House of Peers in the life-time of his father, whom he succeeded in the appointment of Lieutenant General of the North. On the 17th of May, 1545, he was installed a Knight of the Garter. An original letter, written to him on that occasion by the King, remains in the archives of the College of Arms :

“ HENRY R.

“ Right trusty and well-beloved cousin and coun-
“ cillor, we greet you well; ascertaining that you, in
“ consideration as well of your approved truth and
“ fidelity, as also of your knightly courage and valiant
“ acts, with other your probable merits experimentally
“ known in sundry behalfs, we, with our companions
“ of the noble Order of the Garter, assembled at election
“ holden this day at our house of Saint James, by
“ Westminster, have elected and chosen you, among
“ others, to be one of the companions of the said Order,
“ as your said merits condignly require; and therefore
“ we will that with all convenient diligence, upon the
“ sight hereof, you address yourself into our presence,
“ or receive such things as to the said Order appertaineth.
“ Given under our signet, at our said house, the 23d
“ day of April, the thirty-seventh year of our reign.

“ *To our right trusty and right well-be-
“ loved cousin and councillor, the Earl
“ of Shrewsbury, our Lieutenant-Ge-
“ neral in the North Parts.*”

In the spring of 1547, he was constituted Lord Lieutenant of the counties of York, Lancaster, Chester, Derby, Stafford, Salop, and Nottingham; in the following year, Justice of the Forests North of Trent; and, on Mary's accession, President of the Council in

the North. The bravery, prudence, and fidelity, which had distinguished him in these important public situations, induced Elizabeth to retain him among those few servants of the late reign whom she admitted to her Privy Council when she mounted the Throne, but his steady adherence to the religion of his ancestors probably obstructed his further promotion. Of the whole body of the temporal Peers, who had so lately and unanimously subscribed to Mary's recognition of the papal authority, only this nobleman, and one more (Viscount Montague), could now be found to oppose the revocation of that concession. He survived this ununcourtly act of sincerity but for a few months, and, dying September 21, 1560, was buried with his father at Sheffield.

Earl Francis married first, Mary, daughter of Thomas Lord Dacre of Gillesland, by whom he had issue George, who succeeded to his honours; Thomas, who died unmarried; and Anne, wife to John Lord Bray: secondly, Grace, widow of Robert Shakerley, of Holme in Cheshire, who proved childless. Very soon after the death of the latter lady, whose family name has not been transmitted to us, the Earl made an overture of marriage to the Lady Pope, widow of the famous founder of Trinity College, Oxford. Some original letters which passed between these experienced wooers upon that occasion are extant in the Unpublished Talbot MSS., but the etiquette of courtship in those days required more time than could be spared by two lovers whose united years made up somewhat more than a century, and the good old Earl was arrested by death when perhaps he had not made half his advances.

George, the sixth Earl, in common with the young nobility of his time, first presents himself to us in the field. In October, 1557, he was sent by his father, at the head of a strong force, to aid the Earl of Northumberland, then pent up in Alnwick Castle by a Scottish

army; and remained in service on the borders for some months after. On the 24th of April, 1560, the Order of the Garter was conferred on him, and, in the summer of 1565, he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of the counties of York, Nottingham, and Derby. He exercised the office of High Steward of England at the arraignment of the Duke of Norfolk, and succeeded that nobleman in the office of Earl Marshal. In January 1568-9, the Queen of Scots was committed to his custody, and from that remarkable period, till his death, the most material circumstances of his history will be found in the uninterrupted series of letters between him and his friends, which composes the second volume. In perpetual danger from the suspicions of one Princess and the hatred of another; devoted to a service which it is to be hoped his heart did not approve; vexed by the jealousy and rapacity of an unreasonable wife, and by the excesses and quarrels of his sons, from whom he is obliged to withdraw that authoritative attention the whole of which was required by his charge; we shall view this nobleman, through the long space of fifteen years, relinquishing that splendour of public situation, and those blandishments of domestic life, which his exalted rank and vast wealth might have commanded, to become an instrument to the worst of tyrants, for the execution of the worst of tyrannies. Be it remembered, however, in apology for him, that he lived in a time when obedience to the will of the monarch was considered as the crown of public virtue—when man, always the creature of prejudice, instead of disturbing the repose of society with his theory of natural liberty, erred, with equal absurdity, but less danger, in the practice of unconditional submission.

He had by his first wife, Gertrude, daughter of Thomas Manners, first Earl of Rutland of that family, four sons and three daughters. Francis, Lord Talbot, who married

Anne, the daughter of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and died without issue in 1582 ; Gilbert ; Henry who had by his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Reyner, of Overton Longvile in Huntingdonshire, and widow of Thomas Holcroft, two daughters (Gertrude married to Robert Pierrepont, afterwards Earl of Kingston ; and Mary, to Sir William Armine, of Osgodby in Lincolnshire) ; Edward, who married Joan, eldest daughter and coheir of Cuthbert, the last Lord Ogle, and died childless, in 1617. The daughters were, Catherine, wife of Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke ; Mary, married to Sir George Savile, of Barrowby, in Lincolnshire ; and Grace, to Henry Cavendish, eldest son of Sir William Cavendish.

The Earl's second wife, Elizabeth, by whom he had no children, was too remarkable a character to be slightly mentioned. She was a daughter and coheir to John Hardwick, of Hardwick in Derbyshire, and had been already thrice married ; to Robert Barley, of Barley in that county ; to Sir William Cavendish, who is mentioned above ; and to Sir William St. Lo, Captain of the Guard to Queen Elizabeth. She prevailed on the first of these gentlemen, who died without issue, to settle his estate on her and her heirs, who were abundantly produced from her second marriage : her third husband, who was very rich, was led by her persuasions to make a similar disposition of his fortune, to the utter prejudice of his daughters by a former wife ; and now, unsated with the wealth and the caresses of three husbands, she finished her conquests by marrying the Earl of Shrewsbury, the richest and most powerful Peer of his time. " Him she brought" (says a right reverend author, who thought it became him to speak kindly of her because he had preached her great grandson's funeral sermon) " to terms of the greatest honour and advantage to herself and her children ; for he not

only yielded to a considerable jointure, but to an union of families, &c." In other words, she drew the Earl into the same disgraceful and imprudent concessions which she had procured from his unlucky predecessors; and, partly by entreaties, partly by threats, induced him to sacrifice, in a great measure, the fortune, interest, and happiness, of himself and his family, to the aggrandizement of her children by Sir William Cavendish. To sum up her character with the brevity here required —she was a woman of a masculine understanding and conduct; proud, furious, selfish, and unfeeling. She was a builder, a buyer and seller of estates, a money-lender, a farmer, and a merchant of lead, coals, and timber: when disengaged from these employments, she intrigued alternately with Elizabeth and Mary, always to the prejudice and terror of her husband. She lived to a great old age, continually flattered, but seldom deceived, and died in 1607, immensely rich, and without a friend.

The Earl was withdrawn by death from these complicated plagues on the 18th of November, 1590, and lies buried at Sheffield, under a grand monument, with a Latin epitaph, stating at great length the principal occurrences of his life. Both the tomb and the inscription were, as nearly as might be, completed by himself. He foretold, as one of Dugdale's MSS. in the College of Arms informs us, that his heirs would neglect to make that small addition which necessarily fell to their charge; and it turned out so, for the space which should contain the date of his death remains a blank to this day.

Gilbert, the seventh Earl, came into public life when the English nation was rapidly emerging from that simplicity of manners to which it had so long been confined by bigotry and war. We shall accordingly observe in his character certain amiable features, and

certain faults, which were equally unknown to his ancestors. We shall find him the accomplished courtier and well educated gentleman, occasionally relapsing into the pomp and the ferocity of an ancient Baron. The story of his public life lies within a narrow compass; for he was never called to any high office of the state, though apparently better qualified than any of his predecessors of whom we have been treating. His case in this respect was peculiarly hard; for, though it should seem that Elizabeth passed him over upon some suspicion of his disaffection to her, yet in the next reign he appears to have been thrust aside as one of the old followers of her Court. He was summoned to parliament as a Baron a few months before his father's death; was installed a Knight of the Garter on the 20th of June 1592; in 1596, went Ambassador to France to ratify the treaty of alliance with Henry the Great; and was appointed by James, at his accession, Chief Justice of the Forests North of Trent. He married Mary, third daughter of Sir William Cavendish, a lady who seemed to have inherited no small portion of her mother's extraordinary disposition, as will be fully proved by the following curious anecdote, which was taken from a MS. in the possession of the Rev. Sir Richard Kaye, late Dean of Lincoln, entitled "Johnson's Extract from Norfolk Papers," and communicated to the Editor by the late J. C. Brooke, Esq. "In 1592, the families of Cavendish and Stanhope, in the county of Nottingham, were upon exceeding ill terms,* insomuch that blood was shed on both sides. The following is a copy of a message sent by Mary Cavendish, Countess of Salop, to Sir Thomas Stanhope, of Shelford, Knight, by one George Holt, and Williamson; and delivered by the said Williamson, February 15, 1592, in the presence of

* See syllabus of Unpublished Talbot Papers, Vol. H. 375, 379, 381, 389, 393, 397, 405, 419, 421, 423, 429, 433, 435, 440, 499.

certain persons whose names were subscribed—‘ My lady hath commanded me to say thus much to you. That though you be more wretched, vile, and miserable, than any creature living ; and, for your wickedness, become more ugly in shape than the vilest toad in the world ; and one to whom none of reputation would vouchsafe to send any message ; yet she hath thought good to send thus much to you—that she be contented you should live (and doth no ways wish your death), but to this end—that all the plagues and miseries that may befall any man may light upon such a caitiff as you are ; and that you should live to have all your friends forsake you ; and without your great repentance, which she looketh not for, because your life hath been so bad, you will be damned perpetually in hell fire.’ With many other opprobrious and hateful words, which could not be remembered, because the bearer would deliver it but once, as he said he was commanded ; but said if he had failed in any thing, it was in speaking it more mildly, and not in terms of such disdain as he was commanded.”

The Earl had issue by this high-spirited dame a son, **George**, who died an infant ; and three daughters, **Mary**, **Elizabeth**, and **Alathea**, whom he had the happiness to dispose of in marriage, many years before his death, to three noblemen whose characters were as splendid as their titles : **William Herbert**, Earl of **Pembroke** ; **Henry Grey**, Earl of **Kent** ; and **Thomas Howard**, Earl of **Arundel**. He died at his house in **Broad-street**, **London**, on the 8th of **May**, 1616, and was succeeded by **Edward Talbot**, his only surviving brother, the last Earl of **Shrewsbury** of his illustrious line.

The editor here concludes a task which hath occupied most of his leisure time for some years. With no great dread of censure, with smaller pretensions to praise,

with no affectation, however, of indifference as to the little portion of credit which his humble labours may deserve, he presents to the public a collection of the works of others. For the series of ancient papers which is here brought to light he asks no favours—The notices which he has presumed to add to those respectable pieces may perhaps stand in need of much indulgence. Doubtless many errors will occur in numerous details of minute circumstances, abounding with names and dates. He will be thankful for candid correction.

ILLUSTRATIONS
OF
BRITISH HISTORY
IN THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII.

No. I.
(Talbot Papers, Vol. A. fol. 83.)

Indorsed, "Order of the Army."*

THE VANGUARD.

The King's harbingers	Mr. Egerton, standard-bearer
Sir Richard Carew	—
The Lord Lisle, lord marshal	The Lord Abergavenny
Sir Nicholas Vaux	The Lord Awbeney
The Lord Willoughby	Sir Henry Wyatt
Sir Thomas Parr	Andrew Windsor's company
Sir Thomas Boleyn	Edward Ferrers
Mr. Belkenap	John Vere
Sir John Seymour	Sir Morris Berkeley
Sir Edward Hungerford	Sir William Sands

* The army, commanded by the King in person, which, passing over to France in June, 1513, beat the French in that remarkable action called, from the swiftness of their flight (or perhaps from a village called "Spours," near which it happened,) the *Battle of Spurs*, and afterwards took Tercouenne. By "the Duke, and Mr. Almoner," are meant the Duke of Buckingham and Wolsey.

Edward Nevill, with his retinue of the King's guard.	Mr. Poynings.
The Almains.	Sir Henry Guildford.
The Lord D'Arcy.	THE REAR-WARD.
Fitzwilliam, with his retinue of the King's guard.	Sir Henry Marney.
Askew and Hansard.	The Lord Berners, with the footmen of the spears, and his own retinue.
The Duke's company.	The Servants of the petty Captains of the King's guard.
The Marquis's company.	Sir John Raynesford.
Mr. Compton's company.	Godfrey Folgeham.
Mr. Dalby's men.	Sir Anthony Owtred, Captain for the time, with all the residue of men of arms, ditto lances, and archers on horseback, to scour, and conduct the said ordnance and rereward.
Sir Thomas Bury.	My Lord of Essex.
John Nevill.	Sir John Peachy.

THE MID-WARD.

The banner of household.	
The Captains of the Bishops of Winchester and Durham, and Mr. Almoner, and their retinues.	
The Duke, and the Lord Ross.	

No. II.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. A. fol. 2.)

Indorsed, "Ordnance and Artillery, delivered by Sir Sampson Norton, by virtue of the King's warrants."

To my Lord D'Arcy, by 3 warrants ; bows of yew, 4074; arrows, 8000 sheaves; bow-strings, 10,000; stacks for the field, 2000; bow chests and arrow chests, 240.

To William Kingston, by one warrant; bows, 18.

To Sir Henry Marney, knight, by one warrant ; bows, 94.

To Thomas Hart, gunner, by two warrants ; Gunpowder, 6 barrels ; Tampions,* 500.

To John Jeffrou and his fellows, by one warrant ; bows, 4.

To the Earl of Kildare, by one warrant ; bows, 200 : arrows, 200 sheaves ; chests for bows and arrows, 8 ; bow-strings, 500 ; gunpowder, 6 barrels.

To Richard Falconer, gunner, by two warrants ; coal powder,† 1800 ; gunpowder, 1 barrel ; gun-stones of iron, 5 ; gun-stones of stone, 5 ; salt-petre in flour, 7300 lb. ; brimstone in flour, 2300.

To William Pawn, by two warrants ; bows of yew, 1000 ; arrows, 1000 sheaves ; bow-strings, 280 ; cart saddles, collars, hames, and breeching, 9 ; new wheels, 6 pair ; cotton 4 lb. ; pellets of lead for guns, 100 ; cart clouts, 9 pair ; clout nails, 100 ; scoops, 50 ; charging ladles, 9 ; gunpowder 2 last ; falcons of brass, 9 ; arquebuses of iron, 142 ; spades,

* Pieces of wood turned to fit the mouths of cannon, to preserve them from the wet.

† Or charcoal. Sir Richard Baker erroneously asserts that gunpowder was never manufactured in England before the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Doctor Watson, in his chemical essays, quotes a passage in Hollingshed's Chronicle to prove that it had been made in London before 1552 ; and conjectures, from an instrument in Rymer's Foedera, that this art was practised here even in the beginning of the preceding century. The paper before us highly favours that conjecture ; for it not only proves, by the frequent mention of salt-petre, brimstone, and coal powder (always together), that gunpowder was made in England early in the reign of Henry VIII. but authorizes us to presume also, that the art of making it was not confined to a few at that time. We find here two warrants for large quantities of those ingredients, to be sent to Calais and Berwick, doubtless to be there manufactured for the use of those towns ; and it is very probable that most of the considerable garrisons in the English dominions then made their own gunpowder ; for it appears, from this schedule, that the parcels of salt-petre, brimstone and charcoal, issued, exceeded in weight those of the gunpowder by 20,000 lb.

400 ; ropes, for horses, 6 ; shovels, 200 ; pick-axes, 100 ; copper metal 200 weight ; chests for bows and arrows, 44.

To Richard Peper of Calais, by one warrant ; salt-petre in flour, 15,200 lb. ; brimstone in flour, 4300 lb. ; coal powder, 3600.

To Richard Ockam, by two warrants ; bows of yew, 100 ; arrows, 100 sheaves : chests for bows and arrows, 8 ; bow-strings, 1000 ; morys pikes, 84 ; bills, 60 ; serpentines of iron, with their apparel, with 4 chambers, 2 ; serpentines of copper metal, 2 ; fowlers, with their apparel, with two chambers, 1 ; new falcons of copper, with their apparel ready furnished, 5 ; new serpentines of copper, with their apparel, 1 ; gun-stones of stone, 320 ; gun-stones of iron, 60 ; pellets of lead, 200 ; pellets of iron, to shoot in a sling, 2 ; dice of iron, 1600 ; gunpowder 2 lasts ; charging ladles, 1.

To Sir John Peachy knight, by one warrant ; bows, 6.

To Humphrey Walker, by one warrant ; gunpowder, 1 barrel.

To William Dawby, by one warrant ; bows, 6.

To Humphrey Walker, gunfounder, by one warrant ; broken guns, and over leaps, 2108 ; wash metal, 1700 lb. ; copper metal in cakes, 5104 lb.

To Henry Creme, governor, by one warrant ; curtowes of metal, with all their apparel, 1 ; gun-stones of iron, 40 ; charging ladles, 3 ; rammers, 3 ; serpentines of iron, with their apparel, 1 ; iron guns, with 7 chambers, 3 ; gun-stones of stone, 40 ; calabars of iron, 1 ; gunpowder for serpentines, 12 lb.

To Christopher Clapam of Berwick, by one warrant; gunpowder 6 barrels; brimstone in flour, 200 lb.; coal powder, 200 lb.; saltpetre in flour 200 lb.

To Sir John Peachy and Richard Falcon, by one warrant; bows, 8; saltpetre in flour, 93 lb.; brimstone in powder, 11 lb.; coal powder, 22 lb.; gunpowder 1 barrel.

To Sir Edward Howard, by one warrant; bows, 100; arrows, 200 sheaves; bow-strings, 300; bills 100; gun-stones of iron, 200; dice of iron, 2000: gun stones of stone, 200; gun stones of lead, 100; morris pikes, 100; gunpowder, 1 last.

To Sir Edward Poynings, by one warrant; bows, 3000; arrows, 3000 sheaves; bow-strings, 44 gross; chests for bows and arrows, 120; stakes for the field, 1500; spades steeled, 30; mattocks, 30; shovels steeled, 10; bills, 500: barrels for bow-strings, 8.*

No. III.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. P. fol. 107.)

SIR PHILIP DRAYCOT
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

My most singular good Lord,
ACCORDING to your commandment, this is to declare unto your Lordship that the treasurer's office in Boulogne is given to Mr. Dymmok, and the comptroller's office to Mr. Beckwith; and I, knowing the

*I am inclined to think that this paper belongs to the year 1515.—It is, however, certainly of a date prior to 1524, when Sir Henry Marney died, whose name occurs in one of the foregoing warrants.

same by Mr. Secretary, did take my leave of the King's majesty, with loving words of his majesty, to my most singular comfort. By the advice of Mr. Secretary, I shall make my abode for this winter in the court; and my Lord Chancellor is of the same mind, not doubting but I shall come to a thing within the land much more to my comfort and profit; wherefore I intend to ride home with speed, and to consummate and conclude the marriage of my cousin and heir; and that done, I intend, God willing, to await upon your Lordship; and after mine abode there, as I conveniently may, I will resort to the court as I am counselled, and so farther to proceed as your Lordship shall advise me. I have provided my house in London with fuel, hay, lodging, and other necessaries of household, as to mine ability appertaineth, whensoever I come: and when I shall know the time of the marriage of mine heir, then I will be so bold to send to your good Lordship for some flesh, such as for the time and place shall be most meet for me to send for.

And, to ascertain you of the King's progress after your departing: The first was to Oatlands; and there, in the meads under Chertsey, was killing of stags, holden in for the purpose, one after another all the afternoon; so that they were warned by the trumpets, and known thereby if they did enter any deer of price: and they were not only coursed with some greyhounds, but also with horse-men, with darts and spears, and many so slain, the most princely sport that hath been seen: and many did escape over Thames, and to the forest after they passed there. And on Thursday last

the King alighted at Byfleet, and there I took my leave ; and from Oatlands he removes to Cobham, or Woking, I know not whether the first ; and then to Guildford ; and so to Windsor, and there Holyrood day ; and, by estimation, he will be at every of these places four days, or thereabout.

Other news I know none to ascertain you of, but thus betake your Lordship to the merciful governance of God. Written at my house in Smithfield, the next house to the Elephant, that is the New Tavern, the 4th of September,

By the hand of your old assured beadman,

PHILIP DRAYCOT, Knt.*

*To the right honorable the Earl
of Shrewsbury, his good
Lordship, this be delivered.*

No. IV.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. A. fol. 35. 1516.)

THOMAS ALEN

TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

My Lord,

ACCORDING to your commandment, this day your chaplain and I were with my Lord Cardinal, and

* Sir Philip Draycot, of Painsley, in Staffordshire, Knight ; representative of a family of great antiquity, which still remains in that part of England. He was the only son of Sir John Draycot, Knight, by Elizabeth, one of the daughters of Robert Eyre, of Padley, in Derbyshire ; and married Elizabeth daughter and co-heir of John Fitzherbert, of Norbury, by whom he had two sons, Richard and George, both of whom left issue, and four daughters ; Elizabeth, married to Geoffry Foljambe ; Susannah, to John Blunt, of Burton upon Trent ; Alicia, to Jasper Worth, of Tiderington, in Cheshire ; and Dorothy, to Thomas Kynardeley, of Loxley in Staffordshire. By that part of his letter, however, which relates to his heir, who was of the family of Aston, we may conclude that he was then unmarried, or, at least, childless. He died in 1546.

delivered your letter, the which he read in his barge ; and, after, I shewed to him, at the same time, your credence of sudden sickness of your servants, which daily continues ; and therefore besought his Grace to be the means to the King for your excuse, and to know his pleasure what time your Lordship should come up. And he answered that the King would gladly have you here at Whitsunday, considering the coming of the Queen of Scots,* and many ambassadors which are here now ; for that you were the great officer † of the King's household : and I answered, considering the contagious plague daily continuing among your servants, and the shortness of time, you could not come so shortly ; and then he commanded me on Friday to attend upon his grace, and I should know the King's pleasure, at which time I doubt not but you shall have respite to the next term, for, before his going the King, I will speak with him eftsones.

Also this day your said chaplain and I have had communication with the Lord Conyers, before noon and after, and thus concluded : that you shall pay to him £240 ; whereof £150 to be paid in hand, and the rest to be paid at the feast of St. Martin next ; and the said lord is contented to

* Margaret, the king's eldest sister, and widow of James IV. of Scotland. She had lately married Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus ; a man whose great power and popularity had rendered him obnoxious to the Duke of Albany, now Regent. The Earl avoided this nobleman's resentment by a precipitate flight into England, with his illustrious consort, who came to London, and was received by Henry with much kindness and magnificence.

† Steward of the household.

make the land as to you, and over to your use, as shall be devised by your counsel ; wherein I shall do the best I can before my coming home.

This day my Lord of Suffolk asked me specially how you fared, and said he intended to tarry here all Whitsuntide, and would be glad to see you here. He takes his barge every day at Coldharbour, when he goeth by water.

My lord, if your money come up safely, and I can make no better shift, I shall pay my Lord Conyers with part of the same, and defer them that should have the said money unto such time as I can find better remedy.

There was a bill set upon Paul's door, and another upon our Lady Barkyn's* door. The same bill touched the King's grace and his counsel ; part of it after this manner ; "that foreigners had much money in their hands of the King's, by reason of the same bought much wool, which was to the undoing of Englishmen."† Great displeasure is taken with the same ; insomuch that in every ward, one of the King's counsel, with the alderman of the same, is commanded to see every man write that can ; and, farther, hath taken every

* Allhallows Barking, in Tower-street, which was founded by Richard I., and called Capella beatae Marie de Barking. Richard III. rebuilt it, and fixed a college of priests there, consisting of a Dean and six Canons. It was a favourite foundation, having been improved by several monarchs ; and being a building of much public notoriety and resort, it was perhaps the custom in those days to fix pasquinades and libels on its walls.

† These jealousies ended in a terrible riot, on the 1st of May, 1518 ; when the Londoners made a general attack on the foreigners, killed several of them, and pulled down their houses, after stripping them of their contents. Anderson observes that the pretended crimes of the foreigners were probably their working cheaper, and being more industrious, than our own people.

man's books, and sealed them, and brought them to Guildhall, there to examine them.

The Bishop of Hereford is departed, and Doctor Booth has his room: the Master of the Rolls is departed, and Doctor Tunstall has his room,* as the saying is: the Abbot of St. Albans is departed, and the Abbot of Bermondsey, whose souls Jesus pardon. They begin to die in London in divers places, suddenly, of fearful sicknesses; as knoweth our Lord, who long have your Lordship in his blessed governance. Written at Coldharbour, † the 28th day of April, at ten o'clock in the night, with the hand of

Your priest,

THOS. ALEN.

I have sent you Lordship by this bearer one lb. of white coral, and half a pound of powder preservative.

To my Lord.

* Richard Mayo, or Mayew, Bishop of Hereford, and Chancellor of the university of Oxford, died this year, and was succeeded by Charles Booth, who held the see till 1535. Cuthbert Tunstall, afterwards bishop of Durham, succeeded John Young, an ecclesiastic, in the office of Master of the Rolls. Dugdale, in his *Orig. Jud.* erroneously states that the former was appointed on the 12th of May, 1517.

† Coldharbour, or Coldharborough, was a very large house, situated in the parish of Allhallows the less, in Thames-street; the steeple and choir of the church of which, according to Stowe, formerly stood on the old gate-house of this mansion. Several places in the neighbourhood still retain its denomination; as Coldharbour-lane, Coldharbour-stairs, &c. It was built by Sir John Poulney, an Alderman of London, in the reign of Edward III., and, passing through various hands, came at last to the Crown. Richard III., in 1485, granted it for ever to the College of Heralds, who had lately received their charter from him; and Henry VII., willing to annul every public act of his predecessor, gave it to the then Earl of Shrewsbury. It was pulled down by Earl Gilbert, about the year 1600.

Mr. Babington he had never of the said lands, all charges borne, by the year £3.

Upon Friday last, Mr. Babington and I spoke with my Lord Cardinal, and shewed unto his Grace your trouble and sickness, and the late departing of your servants ; and also this day Mr. Babington spoke unto his Grace again, to know his pleasure if he would command him any service unto your Lordship. He answered, Recommend me unto my Lord ; I have shewed the King's grace of my Lord's trouble ; his Grace is right sorry thereof, and counsels him to get him into some little house, and a few provisions with him ; wherefore, unless your Lordship be commanded to come up, I think not contrary, your excuse is so reasonable you may tarry until Michaelmas term. This day Mr. Babington and I have spoke with my Lord of Suffolk's counsel. Mr. Winkfield answered he would speak with my Lord, his master, and make unto me answer within four days after.

The French Secretary is came to London, and hath brought your pension ; he desires to have a sufficient discharge like as he had the last time, or else he will make no payment : he saith his tarry is but short here.

Whereas I heretofore wrote unto your Lordship Sir Weston Brown had promised me payment this time ; so it is this day he would have delivered unto me £33. 6. 8., the other half the next term ; notwithstanding I have received no part thereof: within 40 days after Trinity Sunday he hath promised payment of the whole sum ; he desires to have so much made payable upon his obligation.

My Lord, I have borrowed 200 marks to pay my Lord Abbot of Westminster,* and to-morrow I trust to dispatch the same without pledge or surety ; I have promised to repay the same again within 14 days ; I beseech your Lordship I may keep the promise. I have delivered your letter to Sir John Cut ; as yet I have no answer of the same.

The Morrow after the Ascension day, the King, the Queen, and French Queen,† were at Westminster the same day the King's Grace sat in the Star chamber ; there was examined my Lord of Northumberland, and so commanded to Fleet, and there remains as yet. The same day, the King, the Queen, the French Queen, with divers Lords of the counsel, dined at Lambeth with my Lord Treasurer. Upon Ascension day the Queen of Scots came to Enfield, to Mr. Treasurer's ‡ house ; and there tarried Thursday, Friday, and upon Saturday, the King's Grace met with her besides Tottenham, at Mr. Compton's house. The same

* William Benson, appointed Abbot in 1510. He surrendered his abbey to Henry, by whom he was made Dean, and died in 1549.

† Mary, youngest sister to Henry VIII. and widow of Louis XII. of France, who married her in his declining years. Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, the handsomest man, and most accomplished courtier of his time, visiting the French court a little before the king's death, gained the affections of this young lady, and, marrying her privately, though as some thought not without Henry's connivance, brought her to England about this time, and, for form's sake, suffered a temporary suspension of favour. They lived together for many years in great felicity, counteracting the King's jealous humour by their sincere and amiable conduct.

‡ Sir Thomas Lovel, K. G. and Treasurer of the Household. He inhabited a magnificent house, built by himself in the last reign, on Forty Hill, near Enfield.

day her Grace did ride behind Sir Thomas Parr * through Cheapside, about six o'clock, and so to Baynard's Castle, and there remains yet. The ambassadors of Scotland desired to have spoken with the King before the Queen had come, but they did not, nor as yet have done.

Whereas I wrote unto your Lordship, by Edward, of the stables, the Abbot of Saint Albans was departed, I should have written it was the Abbot of Ta—hill.

Here are many tales going, but I dare not be so bold to write unto your Lordship of them, lest the truth prove contrary. The saying is here, in some places, there was a ship freight in Thames with goods of the religion of St. James.† Anthony Villiers, William Knyvet, and one Brygandin, son unto him that made the King's great ship, should enter into the said ship at divers places, with consent of the master and the mariners, with a great company, to the number of 100 persons and above, and so depart their ways to the sea to seek their adventures.

I have sent by this bearer one pound of without cinnamon, or coral. As knoweth our

* Esquire, and afterwards knight, of the body to the king. Catherine Par, Henry's last queen, was this gentleman's daughter.

† The property of the pilgrims to Compostella in Spain, the supposed burial place of the Apostle St. James. Great numbers of these went annually hence, in ships regularly licensed for that purpose; previously binding themselves by an oath not to discover the secrets of England, nor to take more money with them than might be necessary for the expenses of their journey. It should seem from this passage, that the original motive to the pilgrimage was now giving way to that spirit of traffic which prevailed in proportion to the decay of pious superstition.

Lord, who have your Lordship in his blessed governance, written at Coldharbour, the 6th day of May, with the rude hand of

Your priest,

THOS. ALEN.

To my Lord.

No. VI.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. A. fol. 35. 1516.)

THOMAS ALEN

TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

PLEASE it your Lordship to understand that I have sent by this bearer, Richard Woodhouse, carrier of Rotherham, ten pasties of congers, which were the greatest and the fattest that ever I saw. I pray God this carrier do his part well to it, and then I trust your Lordship will like it well. Your old servant William Coke did bake the same at Coldharbour ; and if I had not been, he would have brought it to your Lordship.

Yesterday I spoke with Mr. Ursewick ;* he shewed unto me at such time as Mr. Poynings and Dr. Tunstall come home your Lordship shall know

* Christopher Ursewick was Rector of Hackney ; had been almoner to Henry VII., and was much trusted by that prince and his successor. He was a prebendary of York, which he resigned in 1493, and archdeacon of Wilts, which he held till his death. He was also dean of Windsor, and was offered the bishopric of Norwich after the death of Bishop James Goldwell, but refused it ; and held sometime the archdeaconry of Richmond, and that of Oxford, which latter he died possessed of. His monument is, or lately was, in the church of Hackney, with a long inscription, mentioning many of the above preferments, and, in addition to them, the deanery of York. It likewise informs us that " despising great honours, and affecting a private life, he lived and died at Hackney, full of years, &c." It is stated too that he was eleven times an ambassador to foreign states.

more, which will be this week that comes in. And also he shewed unto me that as this day the Earl of Northumberland shall be delivered out of the Fleet. Yesterday the Ambassadors of Scotland dined with my Lord Cardinal; there do accompany them the Bishop of Ely,* my Lord of St. James, and Abbot of Westminster.

I beseech your Lordship to license me upon Monday next. By the grace of God I intend to ride to Canterbury in pilgrimage, which I owe since I was sick, and many more that I trust your Lordship will license me to perform this summer.

As knoweth our Lord, who ever have your Lordship in his blessed governance, written at Coldharbour, the 10th day of May, with the rude hand of your priest,

THOS. ALEN.

To my Lord.

No. VII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. P. fol. 25. 1516.)

THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY
TO THOMAS ALEN.

Sir Thomas,

I RECOMMEND me unto you, and right heartily thank you for the baked conger which you sent me, for the same was very good and sweet. And whereas I, by my other letter, wrote unto you that I would send my servant Robert Kniveton to Tourney, for such hangings as Mr. Hart hath caused to be made for me, and that he should keep 240

* Nicholas West, appointed 1515; died 1534.

crowns of the sum for the same purpose ; I now send the said Robert unto you for the said crowns, and will that you deliver him the same, so as he may go unto Torney to the said Mr. Hart, to reckon and pay for the said hangings, and to see the conveyance of the same unto London. Also, Sir Thomas,* I have spoke with Thomas Babington ; and he thinketh best that you be not too hasty in knowing my Lord Cardinal's pleasure touching my coming up to London, except he speak unto you himself of the same, and then you may make my excuse the best you can, for I am now at this time far out of all good order, as well in servants as in horses, to come to London, or to ride any other great journey.

Also, Sir Thomas, I perceive by your said letter that Thomas Babington, before his coming from London, spake with my Lord Cardinal to know his pleasure if he would command him any service unto me ; who answered him that he had spoken with the King's grace, and shewed him of my trouble ; and that he would advise me to get me to some little house, with a few persons with me, which I have done. Notwithstanding, since my coming hither, divers of my servants have fallen sick, both here and in the town, howbeit, I thank God, they have escaped the same ; and I myself kept my bed yesterday all day ; and, of truth, the said sickness was so extreme amongst my servants at Winfield that I have put away all my horse-

* This style of knighthood was usually given to parish priests before the reformation, and thence perhaps arose afterwards the vulgar jocularity of "Sir Reverence."

keepers, and turned all my horses to grass, & my great horses and others ; wherefore, if I shd come up to London the next term, I must be to provide me with new horse-keepers, and take my said horses from grass again, which I think not well serve me.

Howbeit, you shall not need to speak of until such time as I have spoken with Thomas bington, and that you hear further from me, un you hear my Lord Cardinal speak of my con up ; nevertheless, I will that you resort often to him, and be in his sight, to look whether he command you any service to me ; and if he ask when you heard any word from me, you may say his Grace as is aforesaid ; and also that I have the substance of all my servants to their frie saving only twelve or sixteen, which I have l with me.

No. VIII.

(Talbot Papers, vol. P. fol. 33. 1516.)

THOMAS ALEN
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

PLEASE it your Lordship to be ascertained, I l sent, by John Bayly of Sheffield, three yards b satin, three yards russet satin, two yards ye satin, the best I can find in London ; as yet ships are not come from Flanders, wherefore l is little good silk to sell. I have sent, by the John, two pair of shoes for your Lordship, one r of paper, forty pounds of currants, one pound of wax. If your Lordship like not that red wa

sent before, by Richard Hanson, let it be sent back; I trust what I have sent at this time is good; two pair of shoes for my Lord Francis. I have sent by this bearer, Edward of your stable, two black girdles, with two black dog-hooks.

Upon Monday last the Master of the Rolls took his journey towards Flanders, and when he comes to Calais, Sir Richard Wingfield* goeth with him. It is thought the Emperor goeth but easily forward in his wars. Upon Monday and Tuesday last there was a great jousting at Greenwich: the King's Grace, my Lord of Suffolk, my Lord of Essex, Sir George Carew, were challengers; Sir William Kingston, Sir Giles Capel, — Sedley, + with divers others, were defenders. As I hear say, the King hath promised never to joust again except it be with as good a man as himself. To-morrow, which shall be the twenty-fifth day of this month, my Lord Marquis ‡ will keep St. George's feast.

* Sir Richard Wingfield, Knight, Deputy of Calais. For a full account of whose romantic negociation with the Emperor Maximilian, who had made overtures to resign the empire to Henry, see Lord Herbert.

† Sir George Carew, Knight, of the family of the ancient Barons Carew, of Devon. He was drowned at Portsmouth, in 1545. —Sir William Kingston, afterwards Lieutenant of the Tower. Lloyd, Sir Richard Baker, and others, confound this gentleman with Sir Anthony Kingston, Provost Marshal of the Army, sent against the rebels in the west in 1549; whose severity in that office is, or is meant to be, recorded in most histories of England. —Sir Giles Capel, of Raynes Hall, in Essex, knighted for his gallantry at Terouenne: the Earl of Essex is lineally descended from him.—John Sedley, of Southfleet, in Kent, afterwards an Auditor of the Exchequer.

‡ Thomas Grey, second Marquis of Dorset of that house. He will be mentioned elsewhere.

Yesterday the King's Grace and the Queen dine at Hampton Court.

John Goldsmith, the Dutchman, is in hand with your work, and beseecheth your Lordship he may have some money. My Lord, since my coming unto Ralph Dodnor hath sold of the lead which I bought of me before Easter twenty fother, for £4. 6. the fother; notwithstanding, he would be glad to sell the rest after the price it cost him which was £4. 4. These wains that come up daile loose the price of lead; howbeit I hear not to the contrary but they sell above £4. the fother: the wain-man's name is John Burton, of Maperle. This day I trust to send towards Wingfield two tons of wine; whereof four hogsheads are clare two red wine, one white wine, and the other puncheon fresh wine. If it be well carried, I trust your Lordship will like it well. It will cost £5. 6. 8. the ton, whereof the wains must have for their labour twenty shillings; I have paid nothing thereon.

This day Mr. Ursewick spake with my Lord of Northumberland. His Lordship continues in the same good mind you left him, and calls faster for an end to be concluded than your Lordship does and prays your Lordship to appoint what day the pilgrimage shall be kept. The question hath been asked of my said Lord for the marriage of his son of Sir William Compton, and divers others: he hath made answer, "I have concluded with my Lord of Shrewsbury." He hath been desired also to bring him to the Court. He answered, "When he is better learned, and well acquainted with his wife

shortly after he shall come to the Court."* This communication piques him more heartily forwards than ever he was. As knoweth our Lord, who ever have your Lordship in his blessed governance, at Coldharbour, the 24th day of May, with the hand of

Your priest,

THOS. ALEN.

To my Lord.

No. IX.

(Talbot Papers, vol. A. fol. 39. 1516.)

THOMAS ALEN
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

PLEASE it your Lordship to be ascertained that yesternight I was with Master Comptroller † and Master Ursewick. So it is, my Lord, a bill is made by the Council, and tarries only to be signed of the King's Grace, wherein your Lordship shall have commandment to come up; notwithstanding every day this week I have been in my Lord Cardinal's sight, and yet his Grace speaks nothing thereof to me: and, as Mr. Comptroller sheweth me, his Grace bears you marvellous great favour; and, as I have heard by divers others, his Grace

* This marriage did not take place till several years after, when, as Mr. Cavendish informs us in his Life of Wolsey, the Earl of Northumberland compelled Lord Percy to it, in order to remove the King's jealousy of a pre-contract between that young nobleman and Ann Boleyn. The Earl's late imprisonment in the Fleet was probably owing to this suspicion, and his refusing to permit his son to go to the Court till after his marriage favours the conjecture.

† Sir Edward Poynings, who held several other employments, and was much trusted by Henry. He died in 1523.

hath spoken of late days many loving words toward your Lordship ; howbeit every thing goeth no forwards as he would have it, as your Lordship shall perceive by the copy of this letter which I have sent by this bearer.

Here is great snarling among divers of them insomuch my Lord Cardinal said unto Sir Henry Marney * that the same Sir Henry had done more displeasure unto the King's Grace, by the reason of his cruelty against the great estates of this realm, than any man living.

My Lord, the saying is, such as be head officers of the King's household shall give attendance, and be nigh the King daily, here be so many things out of order. I fear me some there be would take a thorn out of their own foot, and put it in your's.

My Lord Cardinal and Sir William Compton † be marvellous great. The French Queen and her husband be out of the Court, and lie in Suffolk, like as I wrote to your Lordship heretofore. The

* Sir Henry Marney, of Layer Marney in Essex ; where part of his mansion house is, or lately was, remaining. He was the King's first favourite, and was chosen a Privy Councillor in the late reign at his request. Henry, at his accession, appointed him Captain of the Guard, and, in 1522, Lord Privy Seal : he was created Baron Marney, of Bindon, in Dorsetshire, in the year following, and died May 24, 1524. Lloyd, who always praises profusely, speaks highly of this gentleman's abilities as a statesman ; he is distinguished in history rather as one of the most magnificent and gallant courtiers of the time.

† Grandfather of the present Lord Compton, from whom the Earl of Northampton is lineally descended. He was brought up with the King from his infancy ; served him in several departments of the household, as well as in the wars in Scotland ; was knighted at the battle of Tercouenne, and appointed Chancellor of Ireland for life in the same year. He died of the sweating sickness, May 31, 1528.

Lord Marquis, the Earl of Surrey, the Lord of Abergavenny* were put out of the Council chamber within this few days whatsoever that did mean.

The Duke of Norfolk † very sore, and, as far as I can perceive is not likely long to continue. My Lord of Buckingham ‡ departed yesterday, towards home, and hath all his desires, with great thanks of the King. Master Comptroller's and Master Ursewick's mind is, your Lordship should not come here this time, if ye might conveniently otherwise do, and your Lordship write to my Lord Cardinal, and also another letter to Sir Richard Sacheverel, to help to make your excuse, I think it should do very well.

Mr. Mondy is hasty in asking of his money, and says he will arrest Ralph Dodnor : I fear me he will so do before your Lordship can write to him. Robert Kyston departed towards upon Thursday last, and all things according to your commandment I have delivered unto him. I have sent by the bearer a copy of a letter that was sent to my Lord Cardinal out of Italy, which Mr. Ursewick would, after the sight thereof, your Lordship should break or burn it. Mr. Ursewick marvels greatly your Lordship appointeth not a day when this shall be kept at Doncaster.

* Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset.—Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey.—He succeeded his father, and was third Duke of Norfolk.—George Neville, third Lord Abergavenny, died in 1535.

† Thomas, second Duke of Norfolk, Lord Treasurer and Admiral, died in 1524.

‡ Edward Stafford, last Duke of Buckingham of that great family, and last High Constable of England. He fell a sacrifice to the envy of Wolsey, and was beheaded May 17, 1521.

As knoweth our Lord, who ever hath your Lordship in his blessed governance. Written at Cold-harbour, the last day of May.

Your priest,

THOS. ALEN.

To my Lord.

No. X.

(Talbot Papers, vol. A. fol. 49. 1517.)

Indorsed "Copy of the King's Letter."

RIGHT trusty and well-beloved cousin, we greet you well. And forasmuch as we understand that at the time of the late repair hither of our dearest sister the Queen of Scots, you according to our letters to you then addressed, right thankfully acquitted yourself in giving your attendance for her conducting and honourable conveyance, we therefore give unto you our special thanks : And, where it is appointed that our said dearest sister shall now return into the realm of Scotland, we will and desire you to put yourself, and our cousin the Lady your wife, in a readiness likewise to accompany and conduct her at this her said return, from our city of York, where she intendeth to be the 29th day of this month instant, so to attend upon her to Newborough : whereby you shall deserve our further thanks to be remembered accordingly. Given under our signet, at our manor of Richmond, 7th day of May.

HENRY NORTHUMBERLAND.

No. XI.

(Talbot Papers, vol. A. fol. 51. 1517.)

THE EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

My own good Lord,

AFTER my most hearty recommendation I recommend me unto you. And, my Lord, I have sent you by my trusty servant, this bearer, the copy of my letter from the King's Grace: wherein his Grace's pleasure is that my bedfellow and wife should attend upon the Queen of Scots from York to Newborough. Wherein, my Lord, I ascertain you of surety she is not in case to ride; wherefore both she and I must beseech your good Lordship to make her excuse to his Grace to pardon her, seeing that she may not otherwise do; for glad she would have done if she might; and, as for myself, I shall, according to his Grace's commandment, give my attendance on her Grace notwithstanding. I have sent your Lordship the copy of my letter, which, as I take it, is to bring her Grace from York to Newborough; wherein I pray your good Lordship to send me your advice; for I mean by my said letter to meet her without York, and so to wait upon her Grace to Newborough, for eschewing of further charge, seeing I am not appointed to bring her into York. My Lord, I send you not my own letter, because I have sent it up to London already, a sennight ago, and have had no answer, for (to tell your good Lordship plainly) to be excused, if I may, from this business; but of a surety, my Lord, this copy is word for word. My

Lord, methinks I need not to be put to this business, if they would have pondered the charge that they have put of late unto me, and the payments I have made of late. Written at Leckingfield,* the 24th day of May.

Your own assured,

H. NORTHUMBERLAND.†

*To my own good Lord,
my Lord of Shrewsbury.*

No. XII.

(Talbot Papers, vol. A. fol. 41. 1517.)

THOMAS ALEN

TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

PLEASE it your Lordship to understand that I have sent by Thomas Parr, carrier of Derby, one piece crane colour, content of the same 28½ yards, for four shillings the yard, one black brigs hat, two black satin brigs, a little fardel sent to my Lady from my Lady Lucy, and two black bags for

* An ancient manor house of the Percy family, which was pulled down early in the 17th century. It was situated two miles from Beverley, and is thus described by Leland, in his *Itinerary*. "Leckingfield is a large house, and standeth within a great moat in one very spacious court. Three parts of the house, saving the main gate that is made of brick, is all of timber; the fourth part is made of stone and some brick. The park thereby is very fair and large, and meetly well wooded."

† Henry Algernon Percy, fifth Earl of Northumberland, died in 1527. This magnificent nobleman's household book, intituled "The book of all the directions and orders for keeping of my Lord's house yearly," is preserved in the Duke of Northumberland's library, and most curiously illustrates the domestic economy of great families in those days. A few copies of this MS. were printed in 1770, by order of the late Duke and Duchess, who distributed them in presents among their friends; and Dr. Percy, late Bishop of Dromore, to whom the work was committed, rendered it yet more valuable by the addition of many ingenious observations.

children. I have sent also, by this bearer, one letter from Mr. Ursewick, two letters from Mr. Hart, one ell of dark tawny satin, and two garnesses for pasties, price nine shillings.

My Lord, as far as I can hear, your Lordship is much beholden to my Lord Cardinal for his loving words, and that marvellously now of late days, since the variance was betwixt his Grace and Sir Henry Marney. I beseech Almighty God your Lordship may find it indeed, notwithstanding that. And if your Lordship come up, I fear me you are not like to depart hence betwixt this and Christmas. Upon Thursday last my Lord Cardinal sent unto me the King's letter directed to your Lordship, which this bearer hath to deliver. Yesterday Mr. Sale and I spake with my Lord Cardinal at good leisure, and shewed his Grace like as your Lordship commanded me in your letters, and also in this last letter. He answered and said, "The King's pleasure is to have my Lord here, and nigh about him; and I would advise my Lord also, if he may labour, to come up." If your Lordship intend not to come up, I think you will write to the King's Grace for your excuse, as well as to my Lord Cardinal, with other more of your friends, for I fear me the said Lord will not make the best excuse for you he can, because he is so much desirous of your company.

The King's Solicitor shewed me the Lord Marquis, the Lord Hastings, Sir Richard Sacheverel,*

* Of the ancient family of Sacheverel in Derbyshire. He is thus mentioned in the visitations: "Ricardus Sacheverel, miles, a secretis Hen. VIII. duxit Mariam Dominam Hungerford, relictam Edwardi Domini Hastings." He died in 1534.

the Lord of Abergavenny, Sir Edward Guilford, by information put into the King's Bench, are like to be in great danger, for retaining of servants at the reverence of God. My Lord, take heed to it ; for Bulkley, which is commanded to Fleet, at his first coming (unto such time as some of spied it, and give him warning of the same) wear your badge upon Here is great trouble betwixt the Lord Marquis, the Lord Hastings, and Sir Richard Sacheverel. Both parties stand bound to appear in Star Chamber, and, as they say, shall be bound to be of good bearing. My Lord Hastings and Sir Richard Sacheverel are here examined, because they had so many in a livery at the meeting of the Scottish Queen. I heard my Lord Cardinal command them to bring in every man's name which was with them in their livery at the said time.* Anthony Babington hath put up to the Council upon the said Sir Richard a great bill of complaint, and also taken surety of him. The Ambassadors of Scotland have taken their leave ; and, conditionally, peace made

* The privilege of distinguishing persons by a livery, or other family cognizance, could only be exercised by virtue of an express license from the Crown, (*see a subsequent note on retainers*), specifying the precise number ; which if the nobleman, or other great person, exceeded, he became liable to very heavy penalties. The well-known anecdote of Henry VII. and John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, inserted in Lord Verulam's history, affords a remarkable instance of severity in a case of this kind. The Earl is said to have been fined fifteen thousand marks for having clothed a number of strangers in his livery, that he might entertain the king at his castle with greater magnificence. "By my faith, my Lord," said Henry, "I thank you for my good cheer, but I may not endure to have my laws broken in my sight ; my attorney must speak with you."

unto St. Andrew's day. I hear say there comes no pension out of France this year. My Lord of Winchester* comes not here. Mr. Comptroller is in Kent. I suppose your Lordship knows that ere this the Bishop of Durham is Lord Privy Seal, and Mr. Pace, which is with the Emperor, will be Secretary.†

I have made a bargain with Sir John Cut for 30 fotheres of lead,‡ to be delivered at London betwixt this and Bartholomewtide, at £ 4. 2. 8. the fother, if your Lordship be so content, or else it is no bargain; beside that, the said Sir John is content that the £100 which is payable to him at Midsummer should rest in your hands in part of payment of the same lead, and to pay the residue at such time as he shall receive the lead; and yet, my Lord, John Revell, and a man which I know well sent up wains of late, were glad to take £4 for the fother: I beseech your Lordship I may know your pleasure herein. I have delivered your letter unto Mondey; as yet I had no leisure to reckon with him. Ralph

* Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, who had lately retired from Court, disgusted at the haughtiness and growing power of the Cardinal. He died Sept. 14, 1528.

† Thomas Ruthal, or Rowthal, to whom the temporalities of the see of Durham were restored in 1509. He was Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and had been Secretary to the late King. He died Feb. 4, 1522.—Richard Pace, or Paice, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's, and of Exeter. He was employed in several embassies, particularly to Venice; where he is said to have been so ill treated by Wolsey, who disliked his bold independent spirit, that it disengaged his understanding, which he never perfectly recovered. I do not find that he ever held the office of Secretary.

‡ Foder, or fother, a weight used for lead in pigs; about 2000 lb. It was likewise called a wain-load.

Sir John Cut was Master of the Ordnance in the Tower.

Dodnor wishes your Lordship to remember his money which was payable at Witsuntide. I can get no money of Sir Wiston Brown until the latter end of this term. If it please your Lordship to send to Coventry, to my Lord Abbot of Westminster (at the general chapter against St. Peter's day, which will be the 29th day of this month) some venison, your Lordship does him great comfort.

My Lord, it is thought by some of your friends, if your Lordship can make your excuse to the King's Grace, better to tarry at home than to come hither ; for there are some things come not so well to pass (wherein few were of counsel) as the beginners of the same thought they would have done. I hear some things which are not to be written. As knoweth our Lord, who ever have your Lordship in his blessed governance, written at Cold-harbour, the 8th day of June, with the hand of

Your priest,

THOS. ALEN.

No. XIII.

(Talbot Papers, vol. P. fol. 29. 1517.)

THOMAS ALEN
TO THE EARL OF SHEWSBURY,

Please it your Lordship,
ACCORDING to your letters I have received by Robert Knyveton one hundred pounds ; six new goblets, to be gilt ; six old gilt goblets ; and eleven cups of assay ; which I trust, with the other six that

I brought up with me, shall be at Sheffield by the same day your Lordship hath appointed: measures for corn and ale, and weights for bread, shall come as shortly as I can have carriage: I dare no salt fish until such time as I have above said, for here is good plenty of time. I have sent by this bearer, in a pack, five pieces of canvas of good making, to line your hangings; and the other three I have at Coldharbour, that shall come at the next carriage, which I trust that your Lordship will like well. Though the breadth of it be but scant, you have twelve score halves to the hundred by the rope, with advantage. I have sent in the same pack six pieces say; three of red, and three of green. I have sent by William Mold eight dozen quails;* as many as I could get, for here are but few, and they are dear. My Lord, hares, oranges, lemons, here are none come as yet, when they are come your Lordship shall have part.

My Lord, whereas your Lordship commands me to send you word if I have made any bargain for lead, I have made none, for I fear me the price of lead will fall here. Some of those merchants that bought lead this time twelvemonth have it to sell yet, and say they will sell the old before they buy any new. If your Lordship could sell it well

* Quails were now, and for many years after, imported alive from France in great numbers. (*See the last paper in 1575.*) Whether this delicate bird hath since become a native of our island, or whether its produce was not numerous enough to supply the tables of the great, is doubtful; but the latter is perhaps the most probable conjecture, as the feasts of that time were famous rather for the quantity than the variety of viands. It should seem, from the next sentence, that hares too were procured from the continent.

at Hull, it were well done. I have delivered your letter to my Lord of Suffolk. The same answer I had before, I have now. He hath sent unto your Lordship a letter for respite of the same, which I suppose was made three weeks since. The French Queen, thanked be God was delivered yesterday, and hath a daughter ; the Queen's Grace and my Lady Princess * shall be god-mothers, and the Abbot of St. Albans god-father.

I can get no money of Sir Wiston Brown. He hath driven me forth from day to day, and said I should have some, and now answers me I shall have none until such time as it may be received for such sale as hath been made of woods. Here are divers men come to have money ; I beseech your Lordship I may know your pleasure what answer I shall make unto them. I have sent by the bearer three letters from Mr. Ursewick of such news as he hears. Thanked be God, Mr. Richard is well amended. As our Lord knoweth, who preserve your Lordship. At Coldharbour, the 17th day of July.

Your priest and beadman,
THOS. ALEN.

Sir Robert Sheffield † is put into the Tower

* Probably one of the Queen's sisters, Henry having at this time no unmarried sister, and the Princess Mary, his only daughter being but a few months old.

† Sir Robert Sheffield of Butterwick in Lincolnshire ; whose heirs enjoyed the titles of Baron Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, and, at last, Duke of Buckingham, which became extinct in the beginning of the last century.

again for the complaint he made to the King of my Lord Cardinal.

Item, here is three score fifteen couple of old lings: item, seven score and six couple of new lings: item, thirty three couple of

To my Lord.

No. XIV.

(Talbot Papers, vol. A. fol. 45. 1517.)

THOMAS ALEN

TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

PLEASE it your Lordship to be advertised, upon Monday sennight last past *I delivered** your letter, with the examinations, to my Lord Cardinal at Guilford, whereas he commanded me to wait upon him to the Court, and I should have precepts on them. The same time I shewed unto him they were but poor men, and did the trespass of innocency and of no malice, pretending to have been their right

I followed him to the Court, and there gave attendance, and could have no answer. Upon Friday last he came from thence to Hampton Court where he lieth: the *day* after I besought his Grace I might know his pleasure. I could have no answer *then*. Upon Monday last, as he walked in the park at Hampton Court, I besought him I might know if he would command me any service; he was not *pleased* with me that I spoke to him. The Sunday before I delivered the letter

* The original is so much decayed that many words are entirely lost. I have endeavoured to supply the sense by those printed in Italics.

unto him which Ralph Leech brought ; I can have no answer to either of both. He that shall be a suitor unto him may have no other business but to give attendance upon his pleasure. He that shall so do is needful to be a wiser man than I am. I saw no better remedy, but came without answer to pursue such *things* in London as your Lordship commands to be done, except I had *done* as my Lord Dacre's servant does, who came with letters for the King's Grace five months since, and yet has no answer ; and another servant of the *Dep.* of Calais, likewise, which came before he rode to Walsingham. I hear that he answered them, “ If ye be not content to tarry my leisure depart when ye will.” This is truth, I had rather your Lordship commanded me to than to deliver unto him letters, and bring answer of the same. When he walks in the park he will suffer no suitor to come nigh unto him, but commands him away as far as a man can shoot an arrow.

Sir William Compton *shewed* unto me that my Lord Cardinal wrote unto Mrs. Vernon, if she would attain the King's favour, to bear her good mind to his servant Tyrwhit ;* and Mr. Coffin, by

* It seems to have been usual at this time for the King to provide for his favourite servants, of the lower classes, in the way of marriage, even in cases where he had no right to interfere by his authority in affairs of wardship ; and it is evident, from a following passage, that the monarch's request was not to be denied. The copy of a letter from Henry to a Mrs. Coward, on a similar subject, will throw some light on this remarkable practise, and is in itself a singular curiosity : it is taken from a miscellaneous collection of MSS. of that time, marked L 1, in the College of Arms.

Dear and wellbeloved,
“ We greet you well ; letting you know our trusty and well-

means of Caro, upon Thursday last got the King's letter after the same manner, and another to Godfrey Foljambe, to advertise unto her the danger of the same ; and also the King desired her *to make* him answer in writing of her mind. This my Lord Cardinal is not content withal, and yet, as the said Sir William shews unto me, the King has granted the wardship of young Mr. Vernon, and of Mr. Clifford, both to my Lord Cardinal.

beloved servant, William Symonds, one of the sewers of our chamber, hath shewed unto us that for the womanly disposition, good and virtuous behaviour, and other commendable virtues, which he hath not only heard reported, but also seen and perceived in you himself, at his last being in those parts, he hath set his heart and mind that he is very desirous to honour you by way of marriage before all other creatures living ; and for the admonishment of this his good and laudable purpose, he hath made humble suit unto us to write unto you, and others, your loving friends, in his favour. We, considering our said servant's commendable requests, his honest conversation, and other manifold virtues ; with also the true and faithful service heretofore many sundry ways done unto us, as well in our wars as otherwise, and that he daily doth about our person, for our singular contention and pleasure ; for the which we assure you we do tender his provision accordingly well, and desire you, at the contemplation of these our letters, to be of like benevolent mind toward our said servant, in such wise that matrimony, to God's pleasure, may shortly be solemnized between you both ; whereby, in our opinion, you shall not only do the thing to the singular comfort of you both in time to come, but, by your so doing, you may answer you in all the causes reasonable of you or any of your friends to be pursued unto us by our servant hereafter, ye shall have us good and gracious Lord to you both. And, to the intent that ye shall give unto this our desire the more faithful credence, we do send you here enclosed a token, praying you to attend to the matter accordingly."

There are likewise, in the same collection, a letter from the King to Sir John Daventry, thanking him for interfering to procure the consent of "Mrs. Coward, widow, of Southampton," to marry Symonds ; another without signature or address, on the same affair ; and, a third, undersigned, to Mrs. Coward, from one who styles himself, " fellow of the said Symonds."

Sir Thomas Parr departed * the same day I wrote last to your Lordship. Mr. Weston † hath his room of the wards with Mr. Lovell, and Sir Edward Dyer is Vice Chamberlain with the Queen. My Lord, the King is determined (if it please God to save it from the sickness) to keep Christmas at Windsor. To-morrow Ralph Leech rides to Farnham, where the King lieth; where he shall know the King's pleasure; howbeit Sir William Compton promised unto me I should have had knowledge thereof ere this to advertise your Lordship of.

I have paid unto the Lord Conyers fifty pounds, whereof I borrowed forty pounds, for that ten fothers of lead which Ralph Dodnor sold I have not received money for, nor can get, except I would receive pence. The Abbot of Westminster's payment of four score pounds is payable at St. Andrew's day; I will borrow to pay him, trusting your Lordship will send up the rest. The Duke of Suffolk lieth in Oxfordshire. Sir Weston Browne comes not to London. Where your Lordship commands me to make quick sale of your lead, I have caused Edward Burton, with other men, to do the best they can (if I should offer it to sell, it would

* His will was proved 27 Jan. 1517; which helps us to the date of this letter.

† He is styled in the visitations of Surrey, "Ricardus Weston, miles pro corpore, magister wardorum, Thesaurar. Calisæ, at Sub-Thesaurar. Angliæ." Henry, in 1520, gave this gentleman the manor and estate of Sutton, near Guildford, where he built a fine house, which still remains very little altered, and is now possessed by William Webb Weston, Esquire, who assumed the latter name in 1782, in compliance with the will of Mrs. Melior Mary Weston, the last of that ancient family.

but the price thereof,) and I told unto him, before Mr. Dr. Talbot, he advertised your Lordship he might have sold it every fother for £4. 4. He answered me by his truth he never spake the word. Your Lordship is content I shall come when your Lordship's business is dispatched ? I have bought three tons of new Gascon wine : whether your Lordship will have new or old sent down I cannot tell. Your Lordship commands also three hogsheads of wine of or of wine of Graves, and three hogsheads of such French white wine as you had last year of John Easton to be sent ; here is none yet come, neither, as Allan King shewed unto me, will be before Christmas. Your Lordship hath two hogsheads of old French wine of Bayonne* at Coldharbour ; as for Rheinish wine, there never came any so bad as came this year ; as soon as any comes that is good your Lordship shall have thereof. As Allan King shews unto me, there were two vessels of Muscadine wine, which were good ; the King had the one, my Lord Cardinal the other. I beseech your Lordship I may know your Lordship's pleasure in the premises.

I have sent by the bearer Ralph Dodnor's bill. He beseeches your Lordship to have some money. I would deliver unto him pounds, if your Lordship be so content, but he will not pass £4. Hugh Copland will be glad to have his money, howbeit he stays This day Roger Hicks brought unto me £30. As our Lord know-

* Bayonne, a considerable city of Gascony, in which province all, or most, of the French wines then used in England were made.

eth, who ever preserve your Lordship. At Cold-harbour, the 25th day of with the hand of your beadsman and priest,

THOS. ALEN.

One cwt. wax, with spices, and other things which your Lordship commands to be sent by the carrier shall come this next week, for this week there is no carrier to Hallomshire.* Your Lordship is content I pay for every thing I send home immediately?

No. XV.

(Talbot Papers, vol. A. fol. 75.)

SIR THOMAS CROMWELL
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

AFTER my right hearty commendations to your good Lordship, with semblable thanks for your letters lately addressed unto me, the same shall herewith receive the King's Highness's letters of answer to such credence as you committed to my friend Mr. Butts† to be declared unto him. And, albeit his Majesty hath not resolutely answered to the particular points of your credence aforesaid, yet your Lordship may be assured, at your coming up, to receive such answer in every of the same as shall be to

* Hallomshire, a district of Yorkshire, south of Sheffield; most part of which is now possessed by the Duke of Norfolk, whose ancestor inherited it from Gilbert, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury.

† William Butts, Physician to the King, by whom he was much trusted in several important affairs. Shakspere introduces him discovering to Henry the malice of Gardiner, and others of the Council, against Cranmer. He died in 1545, and was buried at Fulham.

your content ; and undoubtedly his Grace will be as glad to see your Lordship as any man, I suppose, in his realm ; such is his entire love and favour towards you, which I am as glad to perceive and see as yourself could desire the same.

Touching the firm whereof your Lordship wrote unto me, I have been in hand with my servant ; and, like as I would be loth to constrain him (if I might otherwise choose) to forego it, so I perceive he will not leave it, unless it shall be for avoiding of my displeasure. And again the man doth me so good service that with equity I can press him no further therein than I have done. Nevertheless, if your Lordship will have me speedily to travail in it I shall do as much more therein as yourself shall at your coming think meet for me. And thus most heartily fare you well. From the Rolls, the 20th of February.

Your Lordship's most assured,
THOS. CROMWELL.*

*To my very good Lord the Earl
of Shrewsbury, Lord Steward
of the King's Household.*

* Sir Thomas, afterwards Lord, Cromwell. This great man, the son of Walter Cromwell, a blacksmith at Putney in Surrey, was discovered in France by Wolsey, who took him into his service, and at length appointed him Secretary to his embassy there. He was the Cardinal's political legacy to Henry, who made him a principal instrument in the Reformation, investing him with the most extensive powers in ecclesiastical affairs. The hatred of the Popish party on that account ; of the nobility, for the honours heaped on one of such mean birth ; and, at last, of the King, whom he had in a manner forced to the odious match with Ann of Cleves, concurred to produce his fall, and, according to the fashion of that reign, he forfeited his life together with his master's favors. He was beheaded on Tower Hill, July 28, 1540, having held successively the offices

No. XVI.

(Talbot Papers, vol. A. fol. 61. 1536.)

LORD CROMWELL.
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

My singular good Lord,

AFTER my most hearty commendations, this shall be to advise the same of the receipt of your honourable letters ; the sight whereof, with the demonstration of your noble courage and truth, hath so comforted me, that while I live, and, if I might after my death, I will and would honour you and your posterity, as the man and most worthy Earl that ever served a Prince, and such a chieftain as is worthy of eternal glory. My Lord, I assure you, write this with my very heart ; and I pray God to give me some occasion to do your pleasure while you live, and to your posterity, if I outlive you. I would you knew as well as I how the King's Highness reputeth your most acceptable and loyal service, which you shall right well perceive by the tenor of his gracious letters to you directed at this time. My Lord the habiliments and munitions for the wars which you wrote for, with money plenty, is already upon the way towards you, and shall, God willing, b

and dignities of Master of the Rolls, Baron, Lord Privy Seal, Vice-gerent in Spiritualities, Knight of the Garter, Earl of Essex, an Great Chamberlain of England.

Cromwell married the daughter of — Williams, of Wales and left issue an only son, Gregory, created Lord Cromwell of Okeham, after the attainder of his father. This barony became extinct about the beginning of the 17th century.

with you shortly.* And thus our Lord send your Lordship as long life, and as well to fare, as I would wish, and then you would be in good health, and but thirty years of age. Written at Windsor, the 9th day of October, Anno 28 Hen. VIII., with the basty and leisureless hand of him that is yours in heart,

THOMAS CROMWELL.

*To my very good Lord my Lord
of Shrewsbury, Lord Steward
of the King's Household.*

No. XVII.

(Talbot Papers, vol. A. fol. 123. 1542.)

SIR WILLIAM EURE
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

PLEASE it your good Lordship to be advertised the Captain of the Irishmen hath been with me, and taketh much pains to govern and rule the said Irishmen, for they are of nature, as your Lordship knoweth to be, wild ; albeit he serveth the King's Majesty with them very well and painfully. And, because they are paid every fortnight, it is very uneasy and painful to him to come for their wages so often, seeing they be all footmen, and he can be ill spared from among them, considering their rudeness : therefore, if it might stand with your Lordship's pleasure that they might be paid monthly, I think it would be well. And thus I commit your good Lordship to the tuition of the Holy Ghost.

* This letter was written during Aske's rebellion in the northern counties, where the Earl was lieutenant to the Duke of Suffolk, who commanded the King's troops.

At the King's Majesty's town of Berwick, the last day of June.

Your Lordship's at command,

WILLIAM EURE.*

To the right honourable and my very good Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury, the King's Majesty's Lieutenant-General in the Northern parts.

No. XVIII.

(Talbot Papers, vol. A. fol. 79. 1542.)

THE DUKE OF NORFOLK
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

My very good Lord,

AFTER most hearty commendations ; forasmuch as such of the King's Majesty's ships as are laden with victuals towards Berwick and Newcastle, for the furniture of his Highness's army in Scotland, are not yet arrived there ; and considering as well that their passage certainly dependeth upon the wind, as also that after such their arrival it shall be necessary and requisite for such as have the charge of the same to have at least six days longer to put their

* Sir William Eure, or Evers, Knight, a gentleman of an ancient family in Northumberland, which is said to have derived its surname from the lordship of Eure in Buckinghamshire. He was son of Sir Ralph Eure, by Muriel, daughter of Sir Hugh Hastings, of Fenwick, and was bred to the military profession, according to the common mode of the northern gentry of that time. His good conduct in several petty services on the borders, joined to the weight and credit of his family in that part of the island, procured him the important appointments of Governor of Berwick, 1539, and Commander in Chief in the North, in 1542. He was afterwards Warden of the East Marches, and was created a Baron, by patent, in 1544. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Christopher, Lord Willoughby, of Eresby, and had issue, two sons and three daughters : Sir Ralph, of whom hereafter ; Henry, who settled at Bishop's-Middleton, in the Bishoprick of Durham ; Margery, wife of Willam Buckton, of Bellinges-Holme in Holderness ; Muriel, first married to Sir Georgc Bowes, secondly to William Wycliffe, of Wycliffe ; and Ann, to Anthony Thorpe, of Conesthorpe, in the County of York.

things in such due order as doth appertain ; these shall be therefore to desire you to defer your setting forth for six days longer than was heretofore signified unto you ; putting such order as ye fail not to be at Newcastle, with your men, the seventh day of October next, and not before ; and like as these shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalf, so I require you to address the proclamations herein enclosed, for the delay thereof according to their directions.

And, whereas I understand you are desirous to receive conduct-money, and money for coats, you shall understand that Sir John Harrington, who is Treasurer of the Wars, arrived here this present morning, and hath neither yet received the money, nor yet taken certain order for the particular disbursement thereof ; wherefore I require you take patience herein, likewise considering the delay of the days aforesaid. Thus fare you heartily well. Written at York, this present 20th day of September.

My Lord, pray you send not for the money for coats and conduct until Friday week ; and as for your men that come afar off, keep them in those parts, and your charges shall be allowed from the first day of their setting forwards.

Yours assuredly,

T. NORFOLK.*

*To my very good Lord, my
Lord of Shrewsbury.*

* Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk of that illustrious family, and Lord Treasurer. He was appointed Lieutenant General of the army which invaded Scotland a month after the date of this letter, and died in 1554.

No. XIX.

(Talbot Papers, vol. B. fol. 143.)

THE NAMES OF SUCH SCOTTISH PLEDGES AND PRISONERS AS WERE TAKEN SINCE THIS WAR FIRST BEGAN IN THESE WEST MARCHES;* WITH AN ESTIMATE OF THEIR VALUES AND ESTIMATIONS, AND WHERE THEY WERE BESTOWED AT THE FIRST. NEVERTHELESS DIVERS OF THEM ARE DEAD, PART EXCHANGED AND LET HOME UPON RANSOMS AND OTHERWISE.

THE Earl of Glencarn, mortuus.

The Lord Fleming, mortuus.

The Lord Somerville, of 400 marks sterling; his pledges were with the Earl of Warwick.

The Lord of Oliphant, of 100 marks sterling land, by year; his pledges were with my Lord of Durham.

The Lord Gray, of 400 marks sterling by year, with my Lord Archbishop of York.

Oliver Sinclair, James Sinclair, Alexander Sinclair, being of small lands and good substance; their pledges the Laird Closeborne's son and heir; whose father is of £ 100 sterling lands, and more.

The Laird of Craig, of £151 lands sterling by year; his pledge with my Lord Lumley.

* The English army entered Scotland October 21, 1542, and having desolated the West Marches retired to Berwick. On the 24th of November, the Scots invaded England with fifteen thousand men, and were totally routed at the battle of Solway Moss, by a small band under the command of Sir Thomas, afterwards Lord, Wharton. The following persons, among whom we meet with that great favourite of James V. Oliver Sinclair, to whose unpopularity the misfortune of that day is commonly attributed, were made prisoners there; and according to the generous custom of those days, had been for some time entertained in an honourable captivity in the houses of the English nobility. Thus Sinclair was committed to the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Glencairn to the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Cassilis (who is not mentioned in this list) to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Maxwell to Sir Anthony Browne, Lord Somerville to the Lord Chancellor, &c.

Mr. Erskine, heir-apparent to the Laird Erskine, which Laird Erskine is 100 marks land by the year.

Mr. Seton, of 200 marks lands sterling ; his pledge with my Lord Evers.

The Laird of Harton of £ 40 lands sterling ; by pledge, which is now in the King's Majesty's possession by conquest ; his pledge with Sir Thomas Hilton.

The Laird of Graden, of £ 20 land by year, and by leases by year £ 20 ; his pledge with Sir William Gascoigne the elder.

Mr. Leslie, son to the Earl of Rothes, without lands ; his pledge with Sir Thomas Tempest.

The Laird of Ancastle, a freehold to the Laird of Drumlanrig, of £ 20 land sterling, or more ; his pledge his brother, with Thomas Wentworth.

The Laird of Waughton, of 200 marks land sterling by year ; his pledge with Mr. Magnus.

The Laird of Macreath, of a £ 100 land sterling, by year ; his pledge with Sir Henry Saville, Knt.

The Laird of Ressythe ; himself remaining within the manor of York, being a prodigal gentleman of £ 20 land, the most part whereof he hath mortgaged.

Robert Maxwell, now Lord Maxwell, an ancient baron of great lands ; himself remaining as yet in Carlisle.

The Lord Garlies, a man of 300 marks, and more, and little thereof in his hands, but holden from it by rebels in his country ; himself remaining at Pontefract Castle, in the custody of Sir Henry Saville.

Captain of Crawford, a gentleman of £10 lands sterling, or thereupon ; he escaped, and his bond paid by his sureties.

Patrick Murray, a gentleman without lands, and of small living, remaining in England in the King's Majesty's service.

The Laird Drummelier, an ancient gentleman of £100 lands, or more ; his pledge with Sir William Middleton, in Yorkshire.

The Laird Johnston, a gentleman of 100 marks sterling, or above ; for whom the King's Majesty has paid 100 marks in part of payment for his ransom to his taker, and remains himself in Pontefract Castle.

John Somerville, a younger son of the Laird Somerville, having small living himself ; remains with Sir Edward Gower, Knight.

John Creighton, brother to the Laird Creighton, of very small living ; himself remains with Sir Robert Stapleton.

The Laird of Cockpole, a gentleman of £100 lands sterling, or thereabouts ; himself remains with Sir William Ingleby.

Alexander Gordon, brother to the Laird of Applegarth, having very small living ; himself remains with Sir Henry Saville.

PLEDGES RECEIVED FOR THE KING'S MAJESTY'S SERVICE, AND THE NUMBERS FOR WHOM THEY WERE DELIVERED, AS FOLLOW.

The Laird of Applegarth, of 200 marks sterling, and more ; his pledge, his cousins, with Mr. Magnus, for 242 men.

The Laird Hewsfeld, of £40 and more ; his pledge with Dr. Marshal, for 144 men.

The Laird Holmend, of £20 land ; his pledge his son, with Sir Christopher Danby, for 142 men.

Young Captain of Crawford, of no lands, because his father is living, and prisoner as aforesaid ; his pledge his brother, with Sir William Vavasour, for 101 men.

The Laird of Dabatie, of 20 marks land ; his pledge his brother, with Sir John Tempest, for 41 men.

The Laird Drummelier, for his service, besides that he is prisoner as aforesaid, being of £100 land ; his pledge his son, with Sir William Maleverer, for 364 men.

The Laird Carlisle, for his service, besides that he is prisoner as aforesaid, his pledge his son and heir, with my Lord Latimer, for 101 men.

The Laird of Mowsfall, of £40 lands or more ; his pledge his brother, with Sir William Fairfax, for 71 men, mortuus.

The Laird of Orcharton, of £10 lands ; his pledge with Sir William Calverley, for 112 men.

The Laird of Carlies, of £100 land, and more, and of good estimation ; his pledge his son and heir, with the Earl of Lennox, for 206 men.

The Laird of Loughinware, a man of 200 marks lands, and in goods better than £1000 ; his pledges his cousins ; two of them with my Lord Scrope, and one with my Lord Conyers, for 95 men.

James Maclean, Tutor of Bonby, a man of good estimation and small living ; his pledge his son and heir, with Dr. Bransby, for 151 men.

Sandy Bailey, Captain of Crawford, of £20 lands ; his pledge his son and heir, with Sir William Gascoigne the elder, for 116 men.

The Laird of Warmfrey, of 20 marks lands, whereof he taketh small profit ; his pledge with Mr. Markenfield, for 102 men.

Lairds of Greatney and Newby, between them of 40 marks or more ; their pledges their brother, with Sir Henry Saville, for 122 men.

Laird Kirkmichael, of £20 land ; his pledge his cousin, with Sir William Fairfax, for 122 men.

Laird Rosse, of £20 land ; his pledge his brother, with Sir William Middleton, for 100 men.

PLEDGES LATELY BESTOWED IN YORKSHIRE, BY THE
COUNSEL THERE.

John Maxwell, the Lord's brother, who answers for all upon his brother's lands, having at that time no lands, and now, by marriage, fair lands ; his pledge Hugh Maxwell, his nephew, for 1000 men and more.

The Abbot of New Abbey, of 200 marks sterling in right of his house ; his pledge Richard Browne and Robert Browne, his cousins, for 141 men.

Laird of Closburne, of £100 sterling, and more ; his pledge Thomas Kirkpatrick, his cousin, for 403 men.

Laird of Laggie, of 100 marks lands ; his pledge Roger Greer, his cousin, for 200 men.

The town of Kirkeudbright, a pretty haven ; pledge for it Barnaby Douglas' son, worth nothing, for 36 men.

Lard Cansalo, of £ 10 land ; his pledge George Maxwell, his son and heir, for 28 men.

Town of Dumfries, a fair market town, pledge for it Cuthbert Murray, worth little or nothing, for 221 men.

Rich Urwen, called Dick Rich, of no lands and small goods ; his pledge Abraham Urwen, his cousin, for 142.

Town of Lochmaben, a poor town ; pledge for it Andrew Blacklock, a poor man, for 47 men.

Bells of Tryndall ; pledge for them John Bell, of small substance, for 112.

Sir John Lawson, a poor priest, servant to the Laird Johnston ; his pledge William Thornbrand, worth nothing, for 32 men.

Laird of Gillsby, of £ 7 land ; his pledge Archibald Grayme, his cousin, worth nothing, for 44 men.

Robert Maxwell, of Cohill, of small or no lands ; his pledge Archibald Maxwell, his brother a child, for 91 men.

Laird of Tynnell, of 20 marks land ; his pledge Edward Maxwell, his son and heir, for 102 men.

Johnstones of Kyrton ; their pledge Haby Johnstone, a boy, and no heir, for 37 men.

Johnstons of Bromell and Malinshaw ; their pledge John Johnston, an old man, worth nothing, for 65 men.

Mr. Edward Creighton, a clerk beneficed, no priest, nor having lands : his pledge John Creighton, his son, for 10 men.

Patrick Murray, prisoner, and himself pledge for 103 men.

Geoffry Urwen, of a great surname and of small living ; his pledge Haby Urwen, a boy, for 93 men.

Abbot of Salside, his house of £ 100 yearly ; his pledge James Johnson, his son and heir, for 20.

Thomas Johnson of Cragbourne, of no lands, and worth £ 20 in goods ; his pledge Syme Johnston, a boy, for 64 men.

James Johnston of the Cots, of no lands, but a very honest man, and worth 40 marks in goods ; his pledge Wille Johnston, his son, a boy, for 162 men.

Gawen Johnston, of no lands and small goods ; his pledge Haby Johnston, a boy, for 31.

William Johnston, the Laird's brother, of no land and small goods ; pledge himself, for 110.

Bells, of Toftzaitts, pledge for them Thomas Bell, having no lands and small goods, for 142.

No. XX.
(Howard Papers.)

COPY. September, 1543.

THUS follows the credence you shall shew to the King's Majesty.

Item, that George Douglas, after we were all convened in Stirling, to the holding of the Parliament for deprivation of the Governor, caused a trist* to be set between him and the Cardinal, and four lords ; at the which trist he and the Cardinal agreed finally, without the Queen's advice, or any of the Lords being with her ; and afterwards drew

* A secret meeting.

the Cardinal to Stirling. And on the next day the Governor in under , and caused the exchanging of all the appointments, the which the Governor nor any of the Lords are contented with.

Item, to shew that all the Lords and Commonalty would fain have a peace of his Majesty, excepting the Cardinal, and so many as he solicits with his and provokes to the contrary : for divers great men who consented were pledges before the keeping of peace and contract of marriage, as it was taken, are now content, and consent to affirm the same, and to enter each of them their pledges thereunto ; that is to say, the Earl of Huntley, the Earl Marshal, Earl Errol, with other divers earls, lords, and barons.

Item, to shew that the Governor and Cardinal sent to me, desiring me that I would have come to him, to see if I could have solicited for two or three months' absence, and solicited a safe conduct for ambassadors to have come with reasonable offers for the treating of peace ; and they alleged that I had more credence of your Majesty than any other Scotsman, and, for that cause, desired me to do the same ; which I refused, and would not do till I knew his Majesty's mind and pleasure thereon.

Item, to shew that the Earl of Angus has taken the Lieutenantship on him, by the advice of his old friends, excepting the Earl Glencarn and George Douglas ; and George wishes all hail the Governor and Cardinal.

Item, to shew that the greatest fear is that the

noblemen of Scotland and Commons so think of the peace and contract of marriage, that is put in their heads are the King's Majesty's unsfriends ; that and that matter were perfectly once ended, that he would destroy and put away all the noblemen and the old blood of Scotland ; howbeit that I and many other great men, know the contrary Thereof I thought good (saving his Majesty's pleasure) whenever he sends any army to garrison they make proclamation that he sends his army only to cause the Marches to cause him to be redressed of his goods. It would do me a great pleasure, and I should cause the gentleman to serve his Majesty at his pleasure, to the extent of his power, and if your Majesty would send any writing to the Laird of Drumelzaer he should enter son of his to do such service and pleasure as other prisoners who were taken in the same manner.

Item, to shew his Majesty that it is not out of his Highness's remembrance how I was taken

in his Highness's service for good affairs ; and was holden in bond three quarters of a year, and a great part of my lands taken from me in Parliament, I being in ward ; and one of my castles betrayed and taken, and all my property being there ; which was all done to me for the service and good mind I was in doing to his Majesty, believing well that his Highness will remember and consider the same.

Item, to shew that a French Ambassador is come here, without any money, or any other help but many fair words ; and says the cause why he

brought no money for the division was betwixt the Queen, the Governor, and the Lords ; and says there will be great help in contract of peace and marriage which was made and consented of three estates in Parliament to be observed and kept, and to do no hurt nor harm to any who would assist contrary, or take part therewith. This being done, I believe most part of the people would assist thereto. Also, if his Majesty thought expedient to send heralds to have charged the prisoners of new to have entreated one day of your honour and , after the form of your bands ; and to have sent one good writing to every one of them, making mention notwithstanding they had failed times bygone his Majesty would remit it, and use them as noblemen ought to be used, being prisoners : for I believe you stand in fear that his Majesty is so displeased at them that he would but imprison them, and I believe the writing would put all that away ; saving his Majesty's pleasure to do thereunto as his Highness thinks best.

Item, to shew his Majesty how the Laird Drumelzaer, my kinsman and friend, is lately taken, wherewith I am greatly weakened by his absence ; and, since his taking, that his son and heir, who has married my daughter, has a sort of run on him by his Majesty's subjects of the West Border, who have carried and taken from him all his gear. If it were his Majesty's pleasure so to make a sharp charge to the Warden of the West as that they soon may join again ; but the Lords give no credence

thereto. Also the King of France has taken up the Queen's silver which had come to herself, of her own leaving.

Item, to shew that Mr. David Panter* sent a writing to the Governor, saying that the King of France wills the marriage of the Queen's Grace to the Dauphin's son ; and if that were not granted, he believed there should no help nor supply come out of France to us, with which the Lords and the Governor were evil contented, and nothing minded thereto. The French Ambassador has not propounded that matter as yet ; and because, I believe, he hears the most part of the Lords' mind is not given thereto. Further, as any matter occurs his Highness shall be advertised.†

No. XXI.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. A. fol. 157.)

Indorsed, "The Copy of a Letter sent to the Earl of CASSILIS : from his Pledges."

My Lord,

WE commend all our service to your Lordship who is pleased to wait that we, all comfortless, do

* David Panter, formerly Secretary to the Earl of Lennox (who is here called the Governor), and at this time the Scottish Ambassador in France. He was appointed Bishop of Ross in 1544, and died about the year 1550.

† See note on No. XXV., which will throw some light on the subject of this paper.

‡ Gilbert Kennedy, third Earl of Cassilis, who was one of the prisoners taken at Solway Moss. It appears by a subsequent letter that his kinsmen remained unredeemed, in the custody of the Archbishop of York, seyen months after this date. We are told by Douglas, in his Peerage, that the Earl afterwards acquired some degree of favour with Henry, by endeavouring to bring about the

complain of our miserable case ; for we are charged for your entries in all haste possible, for if you do not, we shall suffer death, and that right certainly. My Lord, remember that we, as friends and natural kinsmen, took on us with our will to come and gropper* our lives for your sake. Beside your Lordship to prove and shew yourself an honest man to the King of England's Majesty, like as are your promise of as much, and your bond written to us ; and the contrary whereof you may be assured that it shall cost us our lives, which is at this time at a narrow point, if you come not betime. Now is the time come wherein the world shall hear and know whether you set by the lives of your innocent and brother, the truth of your faithful promise and honour or no. Yet if you will wilfully cast us away you can, and you may save us if you will : the pains of death will not grieve us so much as the pains of hell and damnation, if our souls will hurt you for the tinsel of us men, which is unwilling to slay us with your own hand.

Always, my Lord, remember that the Lord of Colff hath four motherless children ; take heed that you make them not fatherless for your cause,

match between Prince Edward and the young Queen of Scotland : that collection, however, is rather deficient in its account of this family, for it takes no notice either of Thomas, David, or Archibald Kennedy, who sign this letter, although the first was uncle, and the two latter brothers, to the Earl.

* Probably *proffer* in the original. Some passages in this, and in the preceding paper, appear to have been rendered unintelligible by the ignorance or negligence of the transcribers.

you which were not your
remember your brother Dandy, of whom you have
made great costs to do without , and me
Archibald, your other brother ; and all of us to be
an example to all the world, and you do not well
for us ; for you have fee'd us with many fair words
in time past, but now it comes to the point that
you should do. For your honour, and the safety
of our lives, see that you observe the King of
England's great proclamation ; and speed your
entry for the satisfaction of our mulct, for danger
that after will follow if you call the tenure of our
lives dangerous, wherewith you are like to reward
us for our kind heart to your Lordship ; as God
knows, who have mercy on our souls, (for our
bodies are but tent* if ye enter not the sooner) and
amen. Written at York, this 11th day of Decem-
ber, by your uncle and brother.

Also, my Lord, remember what pain and sor-
row we do suffer, tarrying on your coming in all
possible haste, to have some comfort of us that you
will relieve us, and bring us out of this great
despair.

THOS. KENNEDY, some time Laird of Coyff.

DAVID KENNEDY, of Cavix, the one.

ARCHIBALD KENNEDY.

* Lost — undone — probably an abbreviation of atteint, or
attainted.

No. XXII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. A fol. 235.)

LORDS OF THE COUNCIL
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

AFTER our right hearty commendation to your good Lordship ; these shall be to signify unto the same that we have received your Lordship's sundry letters, with others sent withal, directed from the Lord Wardens, and others of the Marches, the contents whereof we have shewed unto the King's Highness ; for answer whereof his Grace hath commanded us to advertise your good Lordship as here ensueth, to the intent that you may send word thereof to the rest as appertains.

First, touching such Irishmen as are written partly to be impotent by age, and partly to be boys and children ; his Grace is pleased so many of them as shall be thought good by you to be dismissed shall be discharged from the borders into their native countries, for which purpose his Majesty requires your Lordship to take orders for their conveyance unto the next port, which we think to be Westchester, with such conduct money as shall appertain ; and, beside that, his Grace is content you shall give unto them at their departing such reward as to your Lordship's discretion shall be thought expedient.

Second, whereas Sir Ralph Eure, having laid out certain sums of money for the compassing of sundry exploits and intelligence, requiring the re-

payment thereof, amounting to the sum of five marks ; his Grace is pleased and content you shall pay unto the said Sir Ralph Eure as well the said sum of five marks as also whatsoever other sums for like purposes he shall lay out, and require in time to come.

Third, whereas the wardens find themselves much grieved with the entertainment of the hostages ; forasmuch as in very deed it were meeter, for divers considerations, that they should be bestowed farther within the realm than be kept upon the borders, his Majesty prays your Lordship to take order, as well for such hostages as are there presently as shall hereafter be laid, or enter there, to be placed in some convenient place of the inner country, in the keeping of such noblemen and gentlemen as shall be thought good unto your Lordship.

Fourth, the King's Highness is much displeased with the handling of _____ Carey in Scotland, and therefore takes in very good part the like entreating of the Lord Mowe, and others, by the Lord Wharton ; after which sort his Grace would others to be entertained, as they shall fall into captivity, until such time as word may be had of the better ordering of the said _____ Carey ; and, in case he shall be put to death, his Highness willeth, not only the said Lord Mowe to be served in like manner, but as many others as shall come into his hands.

Fifth, touching the practising for the getting in of the Lord of Kilmore, his Grace likes it very well, and would wish the same were handsomely brought to pass, foreseeing, in any wise, that there be no assurance given unto him ; and, in case by any means he shall be induced to come in, his Highness wills him to be incontinently sent hither.

Sixth, his Majesty doth not dislike the sowing of suspicion between the Lords of Scotland and the Earl of Angus, and would have that device go forward with as good dexterity as may be.

Seventh, his Majesty is content the hacqueney be sent to the Lady Dunlanerick.*

Eighth, whereas your Lordship writeth to be advertised how Arcan shall be bestowed ; forasmuch as his Grace has been informed that a good piece of the wall of Warwick is fallen down, his Majesty's pleasure is the said Arcan shall repair thither for the amendment of the same.

Ninth, forasmuch as the Lord Tulibarne, lying upon the borders, cannot serve there for much purpose, and thinks that he may stand in some stead within the realm of Scotland, and hath for that purpose offered to lay in hostages ; if he shall so continue, and will offer shortly pledge for him, his Highness is content he shall depart.

Tenth, concerning Langholme†, answer hath been made once or twice heretofore, and lately an

* Probably relating to some ancient tenure of lands on the borders.

† A market town of Eskdale which formerly had a very strong castle.

express was sent to the borders for that purpose. And thus we bid your good Lordship most heartily well to fare.

From Baynard's Castle, the 22nd day of January.

Your Lordship's assured loving friends,

THOS. WROTHESLEY, Cancel.

CHARLES SUFFOLK.

JOHN GAGE.†

WILLIAM PAGET.*

JOHN BAKER.‡

To our very good Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury, the King's Highness's Lieutenant-General in the North.

* Sir William, afterwards Lord, Paget; ancestor of the Earls Uxbridge; a statesman of great wisdom and integrity, who now held the office of secretary, jointly with Sir William Petre. He died June 9, 1563.

† Sir John Gage, K.G. a person in eminent favour and confidence during the whole of this reign. He had a military education, and, for his good conduct at the siege of Terouenne, was made captain of the castle of Calais, whence being recalled, he was sworn of the Privy Council, and appointed Vicechamberlain and Captain of the Guard: he afterwards held the appointments of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Comptroller of the Household, and Constable of the Tower for life. He was frequently employed in France and Scotland as well in civil as in military affairs; and, having the reputation of great acuteness in his knowledge of home politics and the intrigues of the court, Henry appointed him one of his executors, and a guardian to the young King, bequeathing him a legacy of two thousand marks. In the next reign he was discharged from his office of the Tower, which was restored to him by Mary, who made him Chamberlain of her Household. He died in April 1557, aged 77, and was buried at Firle in Sussex; leaving issue, by his wife Philippa, daughter of Sir Richard Guideford, K.G. five sons and four daughters.

‡ Sir John Baker, Knight, a statesman of no great note in this and the two following reigns. He is said to have been the son of a Mr. Thomas Baker, a Kentish gentleman, but his pedigree in the college of arms begins with his own name. He was bred to the profession of the laws, and in 1526, when a young man, was sent ambassador to Denmark, in company with Henry Standish, Bishop of St. Asaph; according to the fashion of those times when it was

No. XXIII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. A. fol. 69.)

THE DUKE OF SUFFOLK
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

My very good Lord,

IN my hearty manner I commend me unto you, requiring your Lordship, and, nevertheless, in the name of our Sovereign Lord the King's Majesty, straightly charge and command you, that you, presently and out of hand, prepare and set in readiness one hundred archers and two hundred bill-men, good, able, and principal men, ready furnished in harness for the wars, with their bows, sheaves of arrows, bills, leaden-malls, and daggers, upon nags or horses ready within one hour's warning, to con-

usual to join in foreign negotiations the only two characters which the modern policy excludes from such services. At his return he was elected Speaker of the House of Commons, and was soon after appointed Attorney General, and sworn of the Privy Council, but gained no further preferment till 1545, when, having recommended himself to the King by his activity in forwarding the late loan in London, and other imposts, he was made Chancellor of the Exchequer. Henry constituted him an assistant trustee for the minor successor, after whose accession, his name is scarcely mentioned in history, except in one instance, which ought not to be forgotten: he was the only Privy Councillor who steadfastly denied his assent to the last will of that Prince, by which Mary and Elizabeth were excluded from inheriting the Crown.

Sir John Baker married Elizabeth daughter and heir of Thomas Dinely, and widow of George Barret, who brought him two sons: Sir Richard (whose grandson was created a Baronet) and John: and three daughters; Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Scott; Cecily, married to the Lord Treasurer Dorset; and Mary, to John Tufton, of Hoathfield in Kent. He died in 1558, and was buried at Sissinghurst in Kent, where he had a fine estate, formerly belonging to the family of De Berham; and a noble mansion built by himself, called Sissinghurst castle, which remained with his posterity till the family became extinct about half a century since, and hath lately bowed down its battlements to the unfeeling taste of the present day.

duct and bring them to Berwick, where they shall receive coat and conduct money, whensoever and as soon as you shall receive notice and knowledg from me, by proclamation or otherwise; for the same there to be ready to march and set forward with my loving friend Sir Ralph Eure, Knight, whom the King's Majesty hath appointed to have the conducting and leading of them, in such manner for the weal of this realm as the tranquillit of the same shall require. And that, further, your Lordship prepare certain and meet gentleme for the wars, for every hundredth, one to be captain, and their petty captains, for the conductin and leading of the same; with his tent, pavilior and carriage for the same. Wherefore fail yo not hereof as you tender the King's Majesty's pleasure, and the preservation of his Highness' realm, people, and subjects, and will avoid the contrary thereof at your peril.

From Newcastle, the 12th of August.

CHARLES SUFF.*

* Charles Brandon, son of Sir William Brandon, who bore the standard of Lancaster in Bosworth field, and was killed there. His favour with Henry commenced almost in the cradle, and continued during his life, for, as he contented himself with having the reputation of a brave soldier, and an elegant courtier, he interfered little in matters of state, and gave no room for his master's jealousy, or the envy of others: a general dislike to Wolsey and the popish party seems to have been the only political feature in his character. He had the Order of the Garter when a very young man, was soon after appointed Master of the Horse, and was created Viscount Lisle, in 1513, and Duke of Suffolk in the course of the same year. His wives, for he was four times married, were, first Margaret, daughter of John Neville, Marquis Montague, widow of Sir John Mortimer, Knight, by whom he had no issue: secondly,

No. XXIV.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. P. fol. 73.)

THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

My very good Lord,

AFTER my heartiest commendation to your good Lordship ; whereas of late I had occasion to send up to the court, and then and there my servant, Elias Markham, had, among other suits to be made for me to my Lord Chancellor, one to know of him when he thought I should be discharged of my three pledges, Scots, one uncle to the Earl of Cassilis, and two his brothers : and to declare to my said Lord that since their being with me, that is for one whole year and a half, they have not received from my Lord of Cassilis, nor from any of their friends here, towards the finding of their apparel to the sum of twenty pounds sterlinc ; so that I was constrained to give them both coats and gowns, and other things. To this my said Lord answered, saying that the Earl of Cassilis doth not remember his honor, and that it should be well done that I

Anne, daughter of Sir Anthony Browne, K. G. by whom he had a base daughter, Anne, married to Edward Grey, Lord Powis ; and Mary, born after marriage, wife to Thomas Stanley, Lord Montagle : thirdly, Mary, Queen Dowager of France, who brought him Henry, created Earl of Lincoln in his infancy, who died in his father's life time ; and two daughters, Frances, married to Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, and afterwards, meanly, to Adrian Stokes ; and Eleanor, to Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland. His fourth wife was Katherine, daughter and heir of William Lord Willoughby of Eresby, by whom he had two sons, Henry and Charles, who succeeded to his titles, and died of the sweating sickness on the same day, July 14, 1551.

The Duke died at Guildford in Surrey, August 24, 1545, and was buried in St. George's Chapel, at Windsor.

should write thereof to your good Lordship prayng you to take some pains to write to my Lord c Cassilis herein.*

This is, therefore, my very good Lord, as entirely as I can, to pray you to take some pains to address your letters to the said Earl of Cassilis, advertising him what you hear, and that this touche his honor, forasmuch as they are so nigh of kin to him, and also pledges for him, to see that they lack no necessaries. Other things beside apparel I am content to bestow upon them, both for themselves and their horses, at my charge, which sundry way by their being with me is not small ; but my Lord of Cassilis must provide for the rest, or else, the winter coming on, they will lack many things. My good Lord, I am so bold of you as to desire you to take this pains because you have order and way to convey letters to the said Earl at your pleasure. And thus, my very good Lord, fare you heartily well. From Cawood, the 20th of August, 1554.

Your Lordship's, heartily assured,

EDWARD EBOR.†

*To my very good Lord, my Lord
Lieutenant's good Lordship.*

* Lord Herbert's account of the Earl's conduct to his pledge See *Kenneit's* (Coll. Vol. II. 235.) is contradicted in every instance by this and a former letter.

† Edward Lee, third son of Richard Lee, of Delce Magna, near Rochester, an estate which remained in the family till the middle of the last century. His education, begun at Magdalen College in Oxford, was completed at Cambridge, where he took his last degrees, and soon after his removal from that university held the preferments of Archdeacon of Colchester, Prebendary of York and Salisbury, and Almoner to the King. He was employed by Henry in several important negotiations, particularly in an embassy to the Pope, at Bologna, on the nice subject of the marriage with Queen

No. XXV.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. A. fol. 147.)

LORDS OF THE COUNCIL
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

AFTER our most hearty commendations unto your good Lordship. The Queen's Highness having this night assured advertisement from the King's Majesty, by Sir William Herbert, Knight, one of the gentlemen of his Majesty's Privy Chamber, that Boulogne* is now in the hand and possession of his Majesty, without effusion of blood, not doubting but that these tidings will be joyful to you, and all others there, hath willed us to advertise your Lordship with speed of the same ; to the intent that your Lordship, giving thanks to Almighty God, and causing the like to be done by devout and general expressions in all the towns and villages of those North parts, should also with speed signify to all the Wardens of the Marches this great benefit of God, heaped upon us in such sort as we all are most bound to render most humble thanks unto him, and pray for the long continuance of our most puissant master, whom Almighty God long preserve.

Your Lordship will also understand that yesterday arrived here Sir Peter Mewtas, and Thomas Bishop, with a full declaration as well of the incred-

* Henry arrived at Calais on the 14th of July, in great splendour, having crossed the channel in a vessel the sails of which were cloth of gold, and immediately sat down before Boulogne, which surrendered on the 14th of September. It was restored to the French in April 1550.

ible treason and falsehood of the Earl of Glencairn,* and the Master of Kilmore as also of all

* The Earl of Glencairn had been sent to England in the preceding Spring, to conclude a treaty of marriage between the infant Queen of Scots and the young Prince, afterwards Edward VI., and had been induced to subscribe to certain articles, dictated by Henry, which were highly advantageous to the English interest in Scotland ; but on his return, finding a new arrangement of politics at home, he suddenly became an enemy to all that Monarch's measures. As the breach of this contract immediately produced a war, and may be considered as the primary cause of continual disputes between the two nations during four successive reigns, it may not be improper to give a slight sketch of the state of affairs in Scotland at this precise period, as a general introduction to several succeeding papers, and to save the reader and myself the trouble of a number of notes which would otherwise be necessary.

James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, and David Beaton, Cardinal, and Archbishop of St. Andrews, were at this time the most conspicuous, and perhaps the most different, public characters in that country. The Cardinal, presuming upon his long administration under James V., expected, after that Prince's death, in 1542, to have been appointed Regent ; but the nobility, who hated him for his haughtiness and dreaded his great abilities, because they had been frequently applied to evil purposes, determined unanimously in favour of Arran, a man whose virtues were calculated for private life, and whose presumptive right to the succession seems to have been his only recommendation to their choice. The first act, however, of Arran's government was spirited ; at the instance of his Parliament, he imprisoned the Cardinal upon an accusation of his having forged the late King's will, and thus fixed him in an opposition to which his turbulent humour was naturally inclined. But this charge was never proved ; Beaton, after a short confinement, was released at the request of the Queen Dowager, under whose directions he had for some time headed the French party in Scotland ; and, by a few strokes of a refined policy which had always distinguished him, aided by the intrigues of that Princess, turned the tide of popular favor to himself. The Regent, in the mean time, acted with a duplicity dictated rather by a timid spirit than by any dishonest principle : engaged in an unpopular negotiation with the King of England for the marriage before mentioned ; tempted by the splendid offers privately made by that Monarch, even of the separate sovereignty of a great part of Scotland ; and awed, on the other hand, by the superior abilities and increasing power of his adversary, he concluded the treaty with Henry, and declared the Cardinal a traitor by proclamation ; but within ten days

other their proceedings in those parts ; who were immediately dispatched hence to his Majesty's town of Boulogne, to inform his Majesty of the same. And therefore it may like your Lordship to write to the Lord Wharton to stay any more sending or travel for getting intelligence of that matter, assuring your Lordship that the like treason we think hath not been heard of ; and therefore it shall be necessary that your Lordship write to all such places in those parts where any of the Scottish hostages do now remain, that special respect be had to the sure keeping of them, and that such annoyances be done, from time to time, to the enemies as may conveniently ; in the doing whereof it shall, in our opinion, not be amiss that George Douglas be remembered, who hath not been behind for his

after met the latter secretly, and gave himself up to the French interest. Beaton soon after prevailed upon him to make a public abjuration of the reformed religion, of which he was considered as the grand patron ; and now, having enjoyed the most complete triumph over his imbecility, left Arran only the title of Regent, as an useful cloak for his own designs.

The Earl of Lennox, likewise a claimant of the succession, and therefore an avowed enemy to the Regent, had hitherto been a serviceable engine in the Cardinal's hands. By threatening to espouse this young nobleman's interests in opposition to those of Arran, he had terrified the latter into several concessions, and, having obtained them, treated Lennox with contempt. The offended Earl immediately appeared in arms, at the head of a body of undisciplined reformers ; but having suffered his opponents to raise troops while he listened to insidious offers of treaty, his men abandoned him, and he fled to England, and became a voluntary dependant on Henry, who received him with open arms. At this period a war was commenced in the usual manner, by the incursions of the English garrisons on the borders, and on the third of May, 1544, the Earl of Hertford entered Scotland with a powerful army.

part to work towards these treasons. Thus fare your good Lordship most heartily well.

From Oking, the 19th of September, 1544, late at night.

Your Lordship's assured friends,

T. CANTUARIEN.

THOS. WROTHESLEY, Cancel.

THOS. WESTMINSTER.

WILLM. PETRE.

*To our very good Lord, the Earl of
Shrewsbury, the King's Majesty's
Lieutenant-General in the North.*

No. XXVI.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. A. fol. 149. 1544.)

LORDS OF THE COUNCIL
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

AFTER our right hearty commendations unto your good Lordship. When, amongst other advertisements sent from your Lordship to the Queen's Highness, you sent certain articles addressed unto you from Sir Ralph Eure, concerning such offers as have been made unto him by certain Scotsmen inhabiting near the middle Marches, subscribed with their hands, for the good observation whereof they were contented to levy such hostages as in the said articles are expressed at more length: your Lordship will understand that the King's Majesty, having seen their said offers, hath commanded us for answer to signify unto you that, except they will be contented to promise to serve his Majesty against all men simply, without re-

traint of any particular matter, his Majesty will not accept the said offers, nor grant that any bstinence be given unto them. And, in case they shall be contented to promise to serve his Majesty against all men, in all matters, as they shall be commanded, and do give in sufficient hostages for the performance of the same, then his Highness is content that they shall be forborne, and their hostages received accordingly.

We have also seen your Lordship's letters of the 27th of this point, and, with the same, the equests of the Laird of Buccleugh; in which matter we think your Lordship hath very well resolved to grant no assurance, for it is nothing but a practice for the saving of their corn this harvest time; into the wasting whereof, and further annoyance of the enemies as occasion may serve, it shall be well done the Wardens have as good a respect as they may. And thus we bid your Lordship most heartily farewell.

From Eltham, the 29th of September.

Your Lordships assured loving friends,

T. CANTUARIEN.*

THOS. WROTHESLEY, Cancel.

THOS. WESTMR.

WILLM. PETRE.

*To our very good Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury,
the King's Majesty's Lieutenant-General in the
North. Haste post, haste, haste, with diligence.*

* Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. He descended from a very ancient family, originally seated at Sotherton in

No. XXVII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. A. fol. 153.)

LORDS OF THE COUNCIL
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

AFTER our most hearty commendations unto your good Lordship. The King's Majesty, of whose

Suffolk, and afterwards at a village called Aalacton, or Astacton, in Nottinghamshire, and was a son of Thomas Cranmer, by Agnes, daughter of Laurence Hatfield, of Willoughby, in that county. It is said that an accidental conversation with Doctor (afterwards Bishop) Fox, on Henry's intended divorce, introduced him to that Prince's notice, and it is certain that his first public service was to write in favor of that design. He afterwards accompanied the English Ambassador to Rome, where he had the pleasure of seeing his book presented to the Pope, and thence proceeded to visit the courts of France and Germany, arguing for the legality of the measure with so much success that at his return the King appointed him to the Primacy, vacant by the death of Warham, in 1533. His acceptance of this exalted dignity was marked by curious circumstances: the Reformation was then rapidly advancing, and Cranmer, a principal instrument in it, could not be consecrated but by virtue of a bull from Rome, for the King's supremacy was not yet fully established; he therefore prudently submitted to the Papal ratification, but at the same time subscribed an equivocal instrument, declaring that he should not think himself bound by the prescribed oaths to do any thing that might seem in his opinion to be against the laws of God or the King against the government or prerogative. His future history is well known, and affords little variety, for his whole attention was fixed on one object: while Cromwell was employed, in demolishing the fabric of the ancient religion, Cranmer, with a gentler hand, was raising the new one from its ruins. His favor with Henry shielded him from all the attacks that his public con-

good return into his Majesty's realm we doubt not you will be advertised before the arrival of these our letters, having seen your letters of the 2nd instant, with such other advertisements as you have addressed with the same, taketh not only this but all your other proceedings in his Highness's absence in most gracious part. And, for answer to such articles containing the credence of Thomas Gower as you sent with your said letters, his Highness has commanded us to signify unto you that his Majesty is well pleased with the repairing of

duct had provoked in that reign, and, the popish party being at length terrified into silence, he proceeded through the next in prosecuting this great work with unwearied application ; but at Mary's accession all its vengeance fell upon him ; he was attainted of high treason, and, after a very long imprisonment, suffered death at the stake, in Oxford, March 21, 1556.

The principal faults in the conduct of this great, good, and wise Prelate, may be traced to that sweet and gentle temper which was the principal ornament to his character : it frequently degenerated into an effeminate softness, and betrayed him into inconsistencies. He divorced Anne Boleyn while he was pleading her cause with Henry ; he accepted the Pope's appointment to the see of Canterbury, and at the same time denied his ecclesiastical supremacy : he signed the will of Edward VI. in favour of Lady Jane Grey, after declaring himself a steady friend to Mary's succession ; and, finally, recanted those religious professions which had marked his public conduct, in the hope of prolonging an existence which he must have passed in disgrace and obscurity.

Cranmer is said to have *married* the niece of Osiander, a clergyman of Nuremberg ; but no authentic record of this connection remains. The Journals, however, inform us that a bill passed the Commons, March 9, 1562, for "the restoration in blood of Thomas and Margaret, children of the late Archbishop Cranmer." He had been before married, probably when he was about thirty years old, to a mean woman, related to the hostess of the Dolphin Inn, opposite to Jesus Lane in Cambridge, and was, *ipso facto*, deprived of his fellowship of Jesus College, after which he lived at that inn. This first wife died in child-birth within a year after marriage.

the blockhouse in the Holy Island ;* and if the Earls of Angus and Huntley shall attempt to make any invasion into this his Highness's realm, his Grace's pleasure is that your Lordship shall take order with the Wardens of all the Marches that (learning first with what force the said Earls prepare to enter) they shall either with the force of his Majesty's garrisons and other borderers, or calling a further aid of the Bishoprick, and such others as are bound to defend the borders, as the case shall require, set themselves in such order as their force may be withstood, and they repelled, with such further annoyance as may conveniently ensue.

And, touching the offers of the men of Coldingham ; if you shall perceive that these their offers be unfeigned ; and that there be any meet place there wherein a garrison may safely lie, and be victualled ; and they shall also be contented to lay in sufficient hostages to serve truly against all men at his Majesty's commandment ; his Highness, in these cases, is pleased to accept their offers ; and requires you to consider in the mean time who may be in that case a meet captain to lay there, and what number may suffice for the same. His Majesty is likewise pleased that such other Scottish gentlemen as offer themselves to come in, and will lay in sufficient hostages for doing such service as shall on his Majesty's behalf be appointed to them,

* The ancient Lindisfarne, whose episcopal see was removed to Durham about the year 1000. It is a small island, six miles south of Berwick.

shall also be received. And thus we bid your good Lordship most heartily farewell. From Otford, the 6th of October, 1544.

YOUR good Lordship's assured loving friends,
THE CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. THOS. WRIOTHESLEY, Cancel.‡
THOS. WESTMER. * WESSEX.
ANTONY BROWNE. † WILLIAM PETRE.

*To our very good Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury,
the King's Majesty's Lieutenant-General of
the North Parts.*

* Thomas Thirleby, born at Cambridge, and bred in that university; an able civilian, employed in several embassies by Henry VIII. who appointed him to the newly-erected see of Westminster. He is said to have sold several of the estates belonging to his Bishopric, and, according to Dart, his dilapidations were so extravagant, that Edward VI. was obliged to dissolve it, because its revenues were no longer sufficient to maintain a Prelate; but his promotion to Norwich by that Prince tends to invalidate this account. Mary translated him to Ely; and the mildness of his conduct, during her persecution of the Protestants, secured him a quiet retreat in the following reign. He died at Lambeth, Aug. 26, 1570, and was buried there at the head of Bishop Tunstall. In making a grave for the burial of Archbishop Cornwallis, in March, 1783, the body of Bishop Thirleby was discovered in his coffin, in a great measure undecayed, as was the clothing. The corpse had a cap on its head, and a hat under its arm.

† Sir Anthony Browne, K.G. and Master of the Horse; an old and faithful servant to the Crown, and one of the sixteen executors named in Henry's will. This gentleman, from whom the Viscounts Montague are descended, died May 6, 1548.

‡ Thomas Lord Wriothesley of Tichbourn, appointed Chancellor four months before the date of this letter. This nobleman sprung from an heraldic family; his grandfather and uncle having held the office of Garter King of Arms, and his father that of York Herald. He was born in London, and educated at Cambridge, and seems to have raised himself to the top of his profession by the practice of the law only, for his history is almost entirely confined to the courts. His conduct there was exemplary, and his attention to business so indefatigable, that once during his Chancellorship all causes were dispatched. He lived in retirement after the accession of Edward VI., being a zealous Papist, notwithstanding

No. XXVIII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. A. fol. 161.)

LORDS OF THE COUNCIL
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

AFTER our right hearty commendations. The King's Majesty, having seen and considered your letters of the 3rd instant, has willed us, for answer, to advertise your Lordship, first, touching such annoyances as have been lately done by the Scots upon those seas ; like as his Majesty is very sorry to hear that any of his loving subjects should suffer any such loss or hindrance, so his Majesty does somewhat marvel that the merchants, and others, of Newcastle, and other ports and creeks of those coasts, who only do sustain the great hinderance, and might with no great charge have provided for the same, have not all this year manned forth, nor set to the seas, any vessels for defence of their own goods and traffic. If they had employed some part of their vessels to the wars for their own defence, as his Majesty's subjects have done, and yet do, in sundry other parts, they should not only have escaped these losses which they now do sus-

which he was advanced to the Earldom of Southampton ; and dying in 1550, was buried in St. Andrew's church in Holborn. He married Anne, daughter and heir of William Cheney, Esq., by whom he had three daughters, and a son, Henry, who succeeded him, and in whose grandson, Thomas Earl of Southampton, and Lord Treasurer, the titles became extinct : Rachel, one of the two co-heirs of this Thomas, married the Lord William Russell, ancestor to the Dukes of Bedford, a considerable part of whose great estates were derived from that match.

tain, but also, by that means, have kept the seas open, and have continued their occupying, to the honour of his Majesty, and much to their own benefit. And, therefore, considering the great navy his Majesty has now upon the narrow seas, which for sundry purposes may not be divided, his Majesty's pleasure is that your Lordship shall travail with the inhabitants of the ports and creeks within your commission to do as other his Majesty's subjects have done all this year, and yet do, in many other parts of the realm.

We assure you there are at the least, of the west parts, twelve or sixteen ships of war abroad at their own adventures ; who have gotten this year amongst them, as it is credibly reported, not so little as . The town of Rye has all this year had three or four vessels abroad for the wars, and gained very much by it. The men of Norfolk and Suffolk have, during all this herring time, sent forth vessels of their own for the wasting of the fisheries. And your Lordship must consider it will be over burdensome, and almost impossible, that the King's Majesty should set to the seas ships to defend all parts of the realm, and keep the narrow seas withal ; and, seeing others have done, and do, as we have heretofore written, whereby they find lucre, and yet keep the seas open for their traffic, you shall declare to those within your commission that they shall shew themselves loving subjects to his Majesty, to take such order as the like may be done amongst them as is done in other parts of the realm ; whereunto those of Newcastle are much

more bounden in reason than others, because they are not charged with the payment of subsidies and fifteenths, wherewith other his Majesty's subjects are charged ; and yet, nevertheless, have for their our commodity done, and yet do, as we have heretofore written.

And where you desire to know his Majesty's pleasure touching the hostages ; we have heretofore signified his Highness's pleasure unto you for the bestowing of them in such places as should be thought to you most convenient ; and, for the charges of their finding, we think his Majesty has not before these wars been charged with any other hostages in like case : and yet his Majesty's pleasure is that your Lordship shall, for more certain knowledge, fully examine what has been used in like cases before this war ; and if his Majesty has been charged with the finding of such hostages in time past, upon advertisement from you his Majesty will appoint order to be taken for these also accordingly ; and requires your Lordship to write to Sir Ralph Eure, to cause these men which have now given these hostages to be doing annoyances from time to time.

And, touching the trumpeter of the Earl of Lennox, the King's Majesty takes in very good part your staying of him ; for the truth is he stole away from the said Earl ; and therefore his Majesty requires your Lordship to take order for the sending of him hither. And thus fare your good Lordship right heartily well.

From Westminster, the 6th of November, 1544.

Your good Lordship's assured friends,

T. CANTUARIEN.

THOS. WESTMINSTER.

J. RUSSELL.*

T. NORFOLK.

ANTONY WINGFIELD.†

ANTONY BROWNE.

T. WROTHESLEY, Cancel.

WILLIAM PETRE.

W. ESSEX.‡

*To our very good Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury,
the King's Majesty's Lieutenant-General in
the North. Haste, post, haste, haste with
all diligence possible.*

No. XXIX.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. A. fol. 165.)

LORDS OF THE COUNCIL
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

AFTER our right hearty commmdations to your
good Lordship. The King's Majesty has seen

* John Lord Russell of Cheyneys, Lord Admiral, and Lord Privy Seal. He was created Earl of Bedford in the next reign, and died in 1554.

† Sir Anthony Wingfield, eldest son of Sir John Wingfield, of Letheringham in Suffolk, Knight, by Anne, daughter of John Tuchet, third Lord Audley. If the account given of this gentleman in the Irish peerages (*Art. Viscount Powerscourt*) may be depended on, he must have lived to an extreme old age; for they state him to have been one of the persons appointed to receive the order of the Bath at the intended coronation of Edward V. in 1483, and a Privy Councillor to Edward VI., who succeeded not to the throne till 1547. Passing over, however, what may be esteemed doubtful, thus much is clear: that he was one of the knights made by Henry VIII. after the affair of Tournon, and was Comptroller of the Household in 1541, for on the 8th of May in that year he was installed a Knight of the Garter by that denomination. He was afterwards Vice-Chamberlain, and Captain of the Guard, and was one of the executors of the King's last will. He married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir George Vere, sister and co-heir to John, fourteenth Earl of Oxford, and left five sons; Sir Robert, who continued the line of Letheringham; Charles and Anthony, who died unmarried; Henry and Richard.

‡ William Par, son and heir of Sir Thomas Par of Kendal, by Maud, daughter of Sir Thomas Greene, of Green's Norton in

your letters of the 19th instant : and touching the —
keeping of Coldingham,* his Highness thinks it a —
very meet place to be kept, if it were possible to —
have the same fortified ; and, therefore, being —
desirous to have as much done that way as may be —
devised, has at once sent down in post his Majes- —
ty's servant Archam, an Italian, to consider and —
view the said place, with whom his Highness re- —

Henry, upon his marriage to this gentleman's sister, created him Baron Par of Kendal, and soon after revived in him the Earldom of Essex, in consequence of his having taken to wife Anne Bourchier, daughter and sole heir of Henry, the last Earl of that ancient family. In the 4th of Edward VI. he was constituted Lord Great Chamberlain for life, and the next year was sent to invest the King of France with the order of the Garter, having previously been created Marquis of Northampton. He was attainted, and condemned to die, in the beginning of the following reign for supporting the title of Jane Grey. The Queen, however, remitted the more severe parts of his sentence, notwithstanding he had actually appeared in arms with the Duke of Northumberland, to oppose her adherents in Suffolk ; and contented herself with suspending his titles, which were restored by Elizabeth at her coronation. The latter Princess gave him the order of the Garter, chose him of her Privy Council, and a Commissioner for reforming the liturgy. He died in 1571, and was buried in the collegiate church of Warwick, having been thrice married ; first, as hath been said, to Anne Bourchier ; secondly, to Elizabeth, daughter of George Brook Lord Cobham ; and, thirdly, to Helen Suavenburgh, a Swede ; but leaving no issue by either, Henry Earl of Pembroke, his sister's son, became his heir.

The proceedings of parliament with regard to this nobleman's two former wives are worthy of observation, as they strongly characterize the temper of the time in which he lived. Having been divorced from Anne, whose children were bastardised by the same act, he procured a second bill, which strengthened the former by confirming his second marriage ; this passed in April, 1549. But Mary's first parliament, anxious to prove its loyalty, though by the most unjustifiable vengeance against her enemies, re-legalised the issue of the first match, and, repealing the act in favour of the second, declared it void.

* An abbey on the borders, lately garrisoned by Sir Ralph Eure and Sir Bryan Layton.

quires you to appoint the master-carpenter and master-mason of Berwick to join for that purpose : and, if it be thought, upon the view and consideration thereof, that it may be kept, or in short time made tenable, his Majesty would have a garrison left there, and as much done for the fortifying and keeping thereof as shall or may be done possibly ; and if, upon a good consideration, it shall be thought unfit to be kept, or fortified, then his Majesty would have the said hold wholly rased, and utterly destroyed, and so left without any garrison to keep the same.

And, for answer to the Lairds of Cessfourth's and Fernihurst's * letters, his Majesty is pleased that a post be laid at Jedburgh ;† and that the said Fernihurst and Cessfourth's servants, by order taken by your Lordship and Council, have liberty to go and pass to and fro as shall be thought good to your Lordship : and, where they desire to be supported with men and money for their defence, and annoyance of their enemies, his Majesty is also contented that you shall signify unto them, with as good words as you shall think good, that his Majesty will see them aided and supported with men, from time to time, as their need shall require ; and is also contented that you do, for the time, bestow 400 crowns between them, for the relief and entertainment of such as do join with them in the ser-

* The Kers of Cessfourth and Fernihurst. The Duke of Roxburgh is descended from the former, and the Marquis of Lothian from the latter.

† Or Jedburgh ; a town 33 miles south-east of Edinburgh.

vice of his Majesty ; with further permission that as his Majesty shall see a more certain declaration of their truth and loyal proceeding, so shall they not fail to be holpen with money ; and, as you shall perceive them to employ in the first month the 400 crowns now ordered to be given, so his Majesty is pleased you continue the same for one other month, and further, if you shall see their deserving accordingly. Thus fare your good Lordship right heartily well.

From Westminster, the 22nd of November, 1544.

Your good Lordship's assured friends,

CHARLES SUFFOLK. J. RUSSELL.

ANTHONY BROWNE. RICHARD RICH.†

WILLIAM PETRE.* JOHN BAKER.

*To our very good Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury,
the King's Majesty's Lieutenant-General in
the North.*

* Sir William Petre, a principal Secretary of State in this and the three following reigns. He was a wise man, and a pliant courtier, and left a great estate, derived from various grants of abbey lands. He died January 13, 1571, and his only son, John, was created a Baron by James I.

† Sir Richard Rich, Knight, at this time Solicitor-General, and afterwards Lord Chancellor. Lloyd, in his *State Worthies*, tells us that this gentleman could not but be preferred, being "so richly descended, and nobly allied, as to shew at court, upon his first appearance, sixty noblemen and knights of his relation, and a hundred and fifty pounds a year revenue among his friends." The truth, however, is that he was the son of Richard Rich, whose father was a citizen and mercer of London, by a daughter of —— Dingley. He was bred to his profession in the Middle Temple, and was successively appointed Chirographer of the Common Pleas, Attorney General in Wales, Solicitor to the King, and Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations. His servile compliance with the worst measures of this reign, joined to an affected

No. XXX.

(Talbot Papers, vol. A. fol. 173.)

SIR WILLIAM EURE
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

PLEASE it your good Lordship to be advertised, according to your writing, I did send with Archen, the King's Majesty's servant, Sir George Bowes, my son Henry, with the garrison, to conduct him to Coldingham; and was there all Sunday, and came home at night; and in the said Coldingham is Sir George Bowes' petty captain, and a hundred with him, with certain gunners of the town of Berwick, and ten Irishmen with half haques.* The said Archen hath written a letter unto your Lordship of all his advice, which he did shew unto me; and the said Archen and Sir George Bowes say unto me

zeal for the Reformation, first recommended him to Henry's favour; and his infamous disclosure of a private conversation with Sir Thomas More, which cost that great man his life, fixed him in it: Lees Abbey in Essex, with its noble demesne, became his share of the general spoil, and the King named him one of his executors. Early in the next reign, having attached himself to the Duke of Somerset, he was appointed Chancellor, and on the 17th of February, 1547, was created Baron Rich of Lees; but foreseeing the Protector's fall, and dreading the consequences of a letter by which he had communicated to that nobleman the hostile measures that had been agitated against him in the council, and which by chance had fallen into the hands of the Duke of Norfolk, who sided with the opposite party, he prudently resigned the seals, and, retiring to the country for the remainder of his life, died there in 1566. He married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of William Jenkes, a grocer of London, by whom he had three sons and nine daughters; and was succeeded by Robert, the eldest, from whom the Earls of Warwick and Holland, now extinct, descended.

* Haques were hand-guns of a peculiar make; (see Statutes, 33 H. VIII. and 2 and 3 E. VI.) the half haque, or hayck, was doubtless a shorter piece of the same construction.

those that are in Coldingham will keep it forty hours, if the Scots should bring two cannons to them.

My Lord, my son Sir Ralph did come unto me this morning, and all those of his wardenry come after as hastily as they may. There are come to Dunbar, and near thereabouts, the Governor of Scotland, the Earl Bothwell, the Earl of Crawford, the Earl of Glencairn, the Lord Ruthven, the Lord Seton, Sir George Douglas, and others, lords and lairds, and are here yet, and say they do tarry for the Cardinal, the Earls of Angus and Argyle; and thereupon to set forward to Coldingham, and either to have it, or to fight for the same: and if the Scots come over the Peathes* at Douglas to-morrow, my son and I shall set forwards towards them. I did send Sir Bryan Layton† this Monday, before day, to search Douglas Peathes for their incoming, and likewise I shall send forth this night another company to view and see them at their incoming; and further of the Scots' proceedings and our's I shall advertise your Lordship thereof with diligence. My Lord, if they come not forward between this and Wednesday at noon, then my son and I think rather they will take some

* Sir John Hayward, in his large account of the battle of Musselborough, mentions "a velley, stretching towards the sea, six miles in length, about twenty score in breadth above, and five score in the bottom, wherein runs a little river. The banks are so steep on either side that the passage is not direct, but by paths leading slopewise, which being many, the place is thereupon called the *Peathes*."

† He was soon after killed at Melross.

other purpose than to come to Coldingham.* And
thus etc.

From Berwick, the 1st of December.

Postscript; my son sends your Lordship a
letter of such news as he hath obtained.

Your Lordship's at commandment,
WILLIAM EURE.

*To the right honourable and my very
good Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury,
the King's Majesty's Lieutenant-
General in the North parts.*

No. XXXI.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. A. fol. 199. 1544.)

SIR THOMAS HOLCROFT

TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

PLEASETH your Lordship to be advertised that, where the King's Majesty has commanded me to see my Lord of Lennox conveyed to Carlisle, and there to remain with him till his Grace's pleasure be further known; and also his Highness's pleasure was, your Lordship being near the way, my said Lord of Lennox should speak with your Lordship, and so make your Lordship privy to his directions; forasmuch as your Lordship is past further into the North, and my said Lord of Lennox is weary,

* The Regent, attended by the noblemen mentioned in this letter, and with an army of 8000 men, proceeded to Coldingham, according to Sir William's expectation; but had scarcely opened his batteries when he suddenly retreated, as it were panic-struck, to Dunbar. He alleged in excuse that he had discovered a mutinous disposition among his troops, but the fault was generally ascribed to his own effeminate disposition.

and cannot be well served with horses, his Lordship intends to go the next way to Carlisle. His Lordship has written unto your Lordship, and sent also the copy of his instructions ; and, forasmuch as I am commanded by the King's Majesty's counsel, I shall not part from him, but be privy to all his proceedings.

And also Mr. Secretary Paget commanded me to go with speed, and would not suffer me to tarry to receive any money, but said to me he would write to your Lordship to take order to see money delivered to me here ; that is to say, twenty shillings by the day, from the time I parted from the King's Majesty, which was the 9th of December, until such time I come to his Majesty again ; desiring your Lordship I may be advertised of your Lordship's pleasure herein. And thus, beseeching God to send your Lordship good health, with increase of honour.

From Dorton, the 16th of December.

Your Lordship's to command,

THO. HOLCROFT.*

*To the right honourable the Earl of
Shrewsbury, the King's Majesty's
Lieutenant-General in the North
Parts.*

* Sir Thomas Holcroft, of the Vale Royal, son of John Holcroft, of Holcroft in Cheshire. This gentleman, who had been chiefly employed in military services in this reign, held the office of Receiver of the Duchy of Lancaster under Edward VI. and fell with the Protector, (see *papers of June, 1551*) to whom he was firmly attached. Mary, who in her first promotions forgot none of Northumberland's enemies, gave him the post of Knight Marshal, in which his noble conduct to Dr. Sandys, afterwards Archbishop of York, who had been committed to his custody by Gardiner, is celebrated

No. XXXII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. A. fol. 215.)

HENRY R.*

Instructions given by the King's Majesty to his right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin, the Earl of Shrewsbury; his trusty and well-beloved servants Sir James Folgeam, Sir George Gresley, Knights; and to others, his Majesty's Commissioners within his County of Derby, for the purpose ensuing.

FIRST, where his Majesty, upon sundry great and urgent considerations, touching his person, and the whole state of this his Grace's realm, some specialties whereof shall be touched hereafter, has, by the deliberate advice of his Highness's Council, resolved to require at this point a loving contribution of such his most loving and obedient subjects as may, and will, gladly strain themselves, both to gratify his Majesty and to bear part of the common burden which must be sustained for their own defence and surety; having a special trust and confidence in the fidelity, wisdom, and circumspection of the aforesaid Commissioners, his Majesty has

by Fox, and others. He married Julian, daughter and heir of Nicholas Jennings, Alderman of London; by whom he had issue Isabel, wife of Edward Manners, Earl of Rutland; and Thomas, who married, first, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Fitton, of Goscworth; secondly, Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir William Reyner, of Overton-Longville in Huntingdonshire; which lady, surviving him, married Henry Talbot, third son of George sixth Earl of Shrewsbury. The last edition of Collins's Peerage erroneously transposes her two husbands. A branch of Sir Thomas Holcroft's family was settled in Hampshire, and had certain estates in Wilts, in 1623.

* Done with a stamp cut in imitation of the King's signature. He was now so inactive, through extreme corpulency and other infirmities, that it gave him great trouble to write, and he soon after became incapable of applying the stamp with his own hand.

appointed the same to be his Commissioners for the practising of the said loving contribution in the county of Derby ; and, therefore, his most gracious pleasure is that the said Commissioners, immediately upon the receipt of such letters, instructions, commission, and writings, as are prepared for their proceeding in the same, shall, with all convenient diligence, travail for the grant and levying of the said loving contribution, in manner and form following.

First, the said Commissioners, assembling themselves together, shall peruse these instructions, with the book of the names of divers persons, within the limits of that shire, which are thought meet to be contributors; with the rates also of their lands, and substance, as they were taxed at the last subsidy. And, for the conducing of their charge to the better effect, according to his Majesty's expectation, they shall first come together, with such as they shall think meet, and, after a apart dividing themselves by two and two, they shall commune with the rest, that is to say, every of them with such men with whom they are best acquainted, or can by any other means induce to an honest conformity; to the intent they may the more certainly proceed with them, and the better to induce them to be frank and loving herein as appertaineth. And his Majesty is pleased, if they shall perceive that any of the persons contained in the said book of names and taxation for the subsidy be such that time notably decayed, they shall, by their discretions, either take that which they,

being so decayed, may reasonably bear, or clearly dismiss them at their discretions; having regard that if any be left out of the book sent unto them herewith, such as were meet to be contributors, they shall enter them among the others after their estimation, or as they were last taxed, to the intent they may in this contribution bear with their neighbours accordingly. And, to the intent the said Commissioners may the better and more certainly know how to proceed, and with whom to treat in this matter, his Majesty does them understand * that, minding of his clemency and goodness to have the said contribution levied of such his good and loving subjects as may conveniently bear it, his Grace's pleasure is they shall press no man to advance any thing unless he may dispend in lands, fees, and offices, forty shillings by the year, and upward; or that they shall think him worth in goods fifteen pounds, the best to be taken for his Majesty. And, to instruct them after what rate they shall require it; albeit his Highness doubts not but his said Commissioners will endeavour themselves to advance this contribution to as good a sum as the present necessity requires, yet his Majesty and his Council have thought that the least rate that can conveniently be made, to levy any thing at all to the purpose aforesaid, is of £10 land, and upward, four pence of the pound in every month, for the space of five months next ensuing; and of every pound of £15 and upward

* i. e. Doth inform them.

in moveable goods, and two pence each month for the space of five months next ensuing ; the first payment of the groat of every pound in lands, and two pence of every pound in goods, to be levied, and paid at London before the latter end of June next ensuing ; the second, before the latter end of July next following ; the third, before the latter end of August next coming ; the fourth, before the latter end of September next to ensue ; and the fifth, before the latter end of October next after that ; which terms of payment (considered with the smallness of the sum, being every month but one groat in lands, and two pence of moveable goods every month) is so easy that no good subject can refuse the same.

And thus being determined amongst themselves for the manner of their proceedings, the setting forth of the considerations, and all other honest and reasonable means to be used for the inducement of them with whom they shall treat ; and appointing such places for their proceeding as they shall think most convenient ; the same shall, without any protraction of time, send for such men, of the rates and values aforesaid ; first, unto them as are of the best value, and, after, consequently, to send for the others of lower value ; so that, as near as they can, they send for those last which are of the least value ; foreseeing, also, that they send not at one time for above ten or twelve ; and yet, all there coming, communing not but with every one apart, lest, coming a number together, some one unreasonable man, amongst so many,

Forgetting his duty towards God, his sovereign lord, and his country, may go about by his malicious forwardness to seduce all the rest, be they never so well disposed. And, at their coming unto the said Commissioners, calling every man apart, they shall signify unto him that where the King's Majesty, being upon a most just ground and quarrel entered in wars against our ancient enemy the French King, hath, by God's favour and help, in his own person victoriously conquered the town of Boulogne, and the country thereabout (very much commodious and necessary, as well for the more strength of Calais as also for the maintaining of the free passage over the narrow seas) to the great surety of the realm, with the honour, fame, and estimation of the same, for the defence whereof, and of his reputation and honour, his Majesty has greatly consumed his own treasure and revenues, besides such sums as his good and loving subjects have liberally given and paid toward the same ; so it is that now being of late an overtur made for peace to be compounded between his Highness and the said French King, for which purpose there have certain Commissioners met beyond the seas for both parties, the King's Majesty, desirous of the good, quiet, and repose of his loving subjects in peace, has been content, for the good of peace, and that it might ensue thereby, to set apart all private respects that might hinder the said peace ; and offered, therefore, such conditions for agreement to the same as the honour and surety of this realm, with the peace of the same, do necessarily

require ; wherein his Highness, nevertheless, has condescended to such decrees, so base and mean, as it is to be thought no loving subject could endure his Majesty should agree to any lower. And forasmuch as his Highness verily trusteth that like as his Majesty, seeing appearance of ability to defend and annoy the enemy, wherewith to bring him to conformity, is content to spend the uttermost of his substance in so just a quarrel, so his loving subjects would gladly help with some liberal contribution toward the maintenance of an eminent charge for a time, the same to be divided in such several payments as may be by them the more easily paid, and yet serve the purpose, and relieve the present necessity, has therefore commanded you to travail with them, together and apart, for the present aid, by way of a loving contribution after the rates aforesaid, to be paid in five several payments as are before declared ; not doubting but every good Englishman will more regard the defence of his natural country, his wife, and children, with the honour and surety of this realm, than any small portion of his goods and substance ; and, therefore, has willed you to send for him, and them, and to require some portion of money, by way of a loving contribution, as his or their, honest heart can be content to forbear in so great a case. And so, (using them with good words before written, and other to that sense, uttered in a gentle and aimable behaviour, whereby to allure them to know their duty as appertaineth) finally to bring them to the payment of a con-

tribution after the rate aforesaid ; and so appoint them to make payment thereof, without fail, to the hands of such an one as they shall have appointed specially for the receipt of the money to be levied within their commission ; and then, declaring what displeasure might ensue of the disappointment of the payment required at the day, to dismiss him with thanks, in good sort ; and therewith require every of them, in case they shall hear any man talk of the said contribution, that they will give honest advice therein, and help by their good counsel to advance the same as much as they can ; and, if they hear any man talk to the contrary, to give warning to the Commissioners thereof, that he may be reformed to good order, and knowledge of the duty of a good subject.

And if any person whom the Commissioners shall think meet to advance somewhat to this contribution shall nevertheless stand, and utterly refuse to condescend unto the same, upon allegation of poverty, or other pretence which the said Commissioners shall not think by their discretions meet to be accepted and allowed ; the same Commissioners shall in that case, over and besides the persuasions before specified, use their wisdom by other good advices, and remembrance of things that may in any wise touch the party (if any such be) and by the note of ingratitude that may follow it, as they shall think may best conduce and frame the same to an honest conformity ; and if all that will not serve to draw him to some reason, and honest considerations of his duty, then shall they

charge him upon his allegiance to keep secret what has been said unto him, and what answer he has made unto it, and also to be forthcoming if he shall be called for; and so, noting his name, they shall command him to appear, at day and time convenient, before the Council, unto whom they shall make certificate against that day of his behaviour and their proceedings with him; and thereupon to command him for that time to return to his house, and so pass him over in such a silence as he be no impeachment or ill example to the rest who will be more tractable, and frame themselves to the consideration of things as appertaineth.

And his Majesty's pleasure is that the said Commissioners shall appoint such one or two substantial persons of the same shire to receive the money growing of the said contribution, as may dispend in lands £20 per year, or else be worth in moveable goods 500 marks; to whom they shall deliver a book, or roll, indented, and interchangeably subscribed with their hands and the hands of the collectors, containing the names of all such as are contributors to the said contribution, with a titling upon every man's head of such money as he has agreed to pay; which persons, so appointed to be collectors, shall afterwards deliver the money which they do receive again to Sir Edmund Peckham, Knight, Cofferer to the King's Majesty's Household, general receiver appointed for the said contribution; with a book, or roll, to be indented between him and the said Sir Edmund, of every man's name and sum (titled on his head)

who has paid the same ; and the said Sir Edmund shall allow to every such person for the collection, and portage of the said money to London, the sum of two pence in the pound for every month's payment. And, further, his Majesty's pleasure is that the said Commissioners shall send and deliver unto the said Sir Edmund Peckham the books and rolls indented between them and the collectors of their shires within their commission, before the 20th day of June next coming, to the intent it may appear unto him what every collector is charged withal.

And, forasmuch as his Highness doubteth not but that his good subjects of the clergy will declare no less their good will towards his Majesty in this case than the rest of his lay subjects, his Highness's pleasure is, also, that the said Commissioners shall travail and proceed only with such of them, upon the considerations aforesaid, as have Promotion in the precinct of the commission of the Yearly value of ten pounds and upwards, after the rate and value of the land ; that is to say 4d. for every pound ; or, of the moveable goods above £15. 2d. for every pound ; the best to be taken for the King for every of the said five months.

Provided always that ye extend not this contribution to such as be household servants, unless the same have perpetual livings, or fees for term of life, besides his service to the sum of £10 aforesaid ; or to be householders, and have above, in his moveable goods, £15. In which case (that is to say if the serving man have lands, fees, or offices,

above £ 10 besides his service ; or be a household-
er, and also have goods moveable above £ 15) the
same shall be allotted to the said contribution as
afore amongst other, without excuse or allegation
of service.

No. XXXIII.

(Talbot Papers, vol. A. fol. 195. 1544.)

FRAGMENT.

Indorsed "Copy of the KING'S Letter to the Lord WHARTON."

BY THE KING.

Right trusty and well-beloved,
WE greet you well ; and let you wit that, consider-
ing the being there in those parties of the Earl
of Lennox* should much more confer to the ad-
vancement of our affairs than to lie here to no
purpose ; and, taking occasion at a message lately
sent unto him from the Earl of Angus, the copy
whereof you receive here inclosed ; we have
thought good to send him to Carlisle, to remain
there with you upon the borders, and in his com-
pany Sir Thomas Holcroft, and Thomas Bishop ;
to the intent he might have the better occasion to

* Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lennox, as hath been observed, had lately placed himself under the King's protection, to whose interests he was now entirely bound by his recent marriage with that Prince's niece, Margaret Douglas, daughter of Archibald Earl of Agnus by Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. He was sent into Scotland in August, this year, with twelve or fourteen ships, and six hundred men, under the observation, however, of some trusty persons ; having in June preceding signed a secret convention with Henry, which may be found in the *Fodera*, and which is strongly illustrative of that Monarch's designs with regard to Scotland.

practise with the Scots, and either to find the means that we may get the young Princess into our hands, or else, by conferences and devisings with them, to enter a jealousy in the heads of the Governor, and others, and so to sow division amongst them ; or, at the least to get intelligence of their doings. He hath a memorial of his proceedings, whereunto, and the rest of his dealing, we doubt not but he will (and so he is appointed to) make you privy from time to time, and, seemingly to our right trusty and right well beloved Councillor, the Earl of Shrewsbury, our Lieutenant; unto whom also our pleasure is you shall write what you shall hear and know in this behalf. Praying you to use the said Earl for the time of his being there in such sort as to his degree appertaineth. He is a gentle gentleman, wise, and of good courage, and we have good hope that he will, for his part, again use himself towards us accordingly.

We have been from time to time advertised from our said Lieutenant of your wise and discreet Proceedings in those parts, much to our contentment, and give unto you our hearty thanks for the same ; assuring you that we will keep them in our remembrance, to your comfort accordingly.

Signifying further unto you that our pleasure is that our said servant, Sir Thomas Holcroft, shall be made privy to all things concerning the proceeding either of the said Earl, or of our said servant, Thomas Bishop. Likewise we have appointed them here to do in like behalf.

No. XXXIV.

(Talbot Papers, vol. A. fol. 239.)

LORDS OF THE COUNCIL
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

AFTER our right hearty commendations to you good Lordship. Where these bearers, Thoma Scarden, and John Stoddar, the King's Majesty bowyer and fletcher, do presently repair into thos parts for the putting in order of the bows an arrows as well at Berwick as other places there and, for their help, have also with them thre other bowyers and five fletchers; your Lordshi will understand that we have here delivered unt them conduct - money, and also wages for on month, to begin at their arrival, after the rate fo lowing ; that is to say, the said Scarden and Stoc dar, at 12d. by the day; and each of the sai bowyers and fletchers 8d. by the day; praying you Lordship to take order for continuance of the wages after the rate aforesaid, when the sai month shall be expired, for the time of their bein there accordingly. And thus fare your good Lor ship right heartily well.

From Baynard's castle, the 22d of Janu ary, 1544.

Your good Lordship's assured loving friends,
Thos. Wriothesley, Cancel. Chas. Suffolk.
Thos. Westminster. Wm. Paget.

*To our very good Lord the Earl of
Shrewsbury, the King's Majesty's
Lieutenant-General in the North.*

No. XXXV.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. A. fol. 247.)

LORDS OF THE COUNCIL
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

AFTER our right hearty commendations to your good Lordship, these shall be to signify unto the same, that the King's Highness sendeth, at this present, the bearer hereof, Sir Richard Lee, Knight; * and in his company Antonio de Bergoma, and John Thomas Scala, Italians, expert men in the skill of fortifying, to view the state of Tynemouth, and to set in hand such works as shall be thought necessary for the assurance and strengthening of the same. About which purpose, in case the said Sir Richard Lee shall think needful any sums of money to be disbursed out of hand, his Majesty prays your Lordship to take order for the beginning, that the said sums may be laid out by Mr. Sadler, until such time as, upon the advertisement from your Lordship of the premises, more money may be sent thither with

* Sir Richard Lee was an architect of much note in this reign, both in the civil and military lines. There is some account of him in Chauney's Hertfordshire (p. 461). He is called there "master mason, and master of the pioneers in Scotland." Henry VIII. gave him the manor of Sopewell in Herts., and he built a mansion for himself near St. Albans, the ruined abbey of which supplied him with the materials, and called it Lee's Place. He gave a curious brazen font to the church of St. Albans, and caused a pompous inscription to be engraved on it, which is recited in Cambd. Britannia, Vol. I., 335, Edit. 1722. This font had been taken in the Scottish wars, and had been used in that kingdom for the baptism of the royal children. It was stolen or demolished during the grand rebellion. (*Anec. of Painting*, Vol. I., 199.

all speed, for the said effect accordingly. And thus we bid your good Lordship right heartily well to fare.

From Baynard's Castle, the 27th of January, 1544.

Your Lordship's assured loving friends,

THOMAS WRIOTHESLEY, Cancel.

CHARLES SUFFOLK.

JOHN GAGE.

*To our very good Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury,
Lord Lieutenant of the North.*

No. XXXVI.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. A. fol. 253.)

Post scripta.* We send herewith a letter to be conveyed with diligence to the Warden of the Middle Marches, by the contents whereof your Lordship may perceive our proceedings with one Reed, an Alderman of London, who repairs down thither to serve in those parts ; praying your Lordship, at his passing by you, northwards, to make him as strange countenance as the letter appoints him strange service, for a man of that sort.

THOS. WRIOTHESLEY, Cancel.

CHARLES SUFFOLK.

WILLIAM PAGET.

* To a long letter, containing no other matter of importance, from the Council to the Earl of Shrewsbury. It is dated Jan. 27, 1544, and inclosed the curious epistle which follows it.

Indorsed, "Copy of the Letter to SIR RALPH EURE."

(Talbot Papers, Vol. A. fol. 255. 1544.)

AFTER our right hearty commendations. Whereas he King's Highness, being burdened, as you now, with the inestimable charge of his wars, which his Grace has prosperously followed the pace almost of one whole year, and must perforce, for the necessary defence of the realm, berein continue it is not known how long) has, for the maintenance thereof, required lately a contribution by way of benevolence of his Highness's loving subjects; and begun the execution thereof, first, with us of his Grace's Council, whom his Majesty, according unto our most bounden duties, ound in such conformity as we trust was to his Grace's content; and from us, proceeding unto the citizens of London, found them also, upon such declaration as was made unto them of the necessity of the thing, as honestly inclined, to the uttermost of their powers, as they saw the request to be grounded upon most reasonable causes; only ne there was, named Richard Reed, an Alderman of London, the said city, who notwithstanding both such necessary persuasions and declarations as for the purpose at great length were shewed unto him; and the consent also, and the conformity thereunto, of all his company) stood lone in the refusal of the same; not only himself, upon a disobedient stomach, utterly denying to grow therein to the accomplishment of his duty in that part, but thereby also giving example, as

much as in one man may lie, to breed a like dif-
formity in a great many of the rest. And, forasmuch as for the defence of the realm, and himself, and for the continuance of his quiet life, he could not find in his heart to disburse a little quantity of his substance, his Majesty has thought it much reason to cause him to do some service for his country with his body, whereby he might somewhat be instructed of the difference between the sitting quietly in his house, and the travail and danger which others daily do sustain, whereby he hath been hitherto maintained in the same; and for this purpose his Grace has thought good to send him unto your school, as you shall perceive by such letters as he shall deliver unto you, there to serve as a soldier, and yet both he and his men at his own charge; requiring you, not only as you shall have occasion to send forth to any place for the doing of any enterprise upon the enemies, to cause him to ride forth to the same, and to do in all things as other soldiers are appointed to do, without respect, but also to bestow him in such a place in garrison as he may feel what pains other poor soldiers abide abroad in the King's service, and know the smart of his folly and sturdy disobedience. Finally, you must use him in all things after the sharp military discipline of the northern wars. And thus, &c.

To our very good Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury, the King's Highness's Lieutenant in the North parts.

No. XXXVII.

(Howard Papers. 1544.)

LORD WHARTON
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

PLEASED your honourable Lordship to be adver-
ised that I have received your Lordship's letters of
the 5th of this instant, signifying the King's Ma-
esty's pleasure concerning the order of the tower
of Langholme, which is that such number of foot-
men as are already there, and a convenient number
also of horsemen (his Grace thinking that fifty
will be sufficient), be entertained there; which
number I have in readiness, with a convenient per-
son to have the especial charge of the same, to
be at the said tower upon Monday next, the 16th of
his instant, and shall order the horsemen and foot-
men at your Lordship's commandment; trusting
that they shall serve the King's Majesty as much
to the annoyance of his Highness's enemies as
any like number shall do upon the borders.

Advertising also your Lordship that my Lord
of Lennox, Thomas Bishop, and I, are practising
or the sending up to the Court of the Lord Tuly-
ardine, and shall proceed therein with as much
expedition as we can conveniently; and in the mean
time shall note as much matter as can be gathered
to charge him with, and further after his de-
parture I shall send the same unto your Lord-
ship in post, as your Lordship has commanded. I
ave also declared unto my Lord of Lennox, and
Thomas Bishop, the effect of your Lordship's let-

ters unto me in that point; that the King's Ma—
jesty has appointed to my Lord of Lennox four—
marks by the day, and to Thomas Bishop ten shil—
lings by the day, for their debts during their abode —
in these parts, and since their arrival at Carlisle,
which was the 17th day of December, at after noon.
The said Earl taketh the same in most thankful
part; and hath required me to solicit your Lord—
ship to give thanks to the King's Majesty on his
Lordship's behalf, for that and all other his High—
ness's most abundant and liberal goodness shewed
unto him, as yet, as he said, undeserved. I have
also, according to your Lordship's said letters,
taken order for the discharge of the Earl of Cas—
silis's pledges, and returned my Lord President's
men homewards who conveyed the pledges hither;
and did also appoint for conveyance of the pledges
a good part within Scotland, as they desired; and
so they entered the same the 9th of February.

Advertising your Lordship that there is a
Scotchman whom the Laird Johnston chiefly trusts,
whom I have used as a spy a long time, I have,
with such policy as I could, practised with him that
he, as of himself, should continue the division be—
tween the said Johnston and Robert Maxwell; and,
likewise of himself, to move the Laird Johnston to
seek at my hand for his relief and aid: which,
hitherto, he has handled to that effect, and they
both are at this present before the Council of Scot—
land, at Edinburgh, for their agreements, as was
appointed, like as they have been sundry times
before this. Howbeit, before the Laird Johnston

going thither, means were made unto me to see whether I would appoint a servant or two of mine to hear what the Laird Johnston would desire of me for his help and aid against Robert Maxwell, which I was contented to do, and so I sent Edward Storie and William Storie, my servants, to hear what he would say. He came to my men upon Candlemas-day, in the night, at ten o'clock, ten miles from his house in Scotland, as was appointed; and used many fair words to have my favour, and that I would be a mean to the King's Highness for him to have his Majesty's favour, if he devised with me whereby Robert Maxwell might receive displeasure. I have offered unto him three hundred crowns; to the Abbot of Selsid, his brother, one hundred crowns; and to my spy, for his purpose, one hundred crowns; and to be a suitor to the King's Majesty for his Highness's favour, if by his draft I may have in my hands Robert Maxwell. The Laird Johnston, hearing that, gave many pleasant words to the purpose; and bade them say to me that, whether he did agree or no at Edinburgh, he would work a purpose with me against Robert Maxwell, and that he would within two days after his coming home send to them again to have further communication with them therein.

I have thought good to advertise your Lordship hereof, albeit they are all so false that I know not well what to write or say; but I would be glad to trap and annoy Robert Maxwell, or the Laird Johnston, to the King's Majesty's honour and my own poor honesty, as knows Almighty God, who

send your Lordship marvellous increase of honour.
At Carlisle, the 10th of February.

Your Lordship's, humble at commandment,

THOMAS WHARTON.*

No. XXXVIII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. A. fol. 273.)

LORDS OF THE COUNCIL
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

AFTER our most hearty commendations, these shall be to signify unto you that the King's Majesty hath seen your sundry letters, taking your advertisements signified in the same in right good and thankful part. And, whereas, of late, it hath pleased God to send unto his Majesty a notable victory against the Frenchmen, his Highness hath willed us to discourse the same unto you; to the intent you should not only give God thanks, with us, in that behalf, but also notify the same as occasion shall require.

The French King, continuing in his desire to recover Boulogne, and for that purpose thinking good to begin his siege betimes, and that it should be much to the advancement of his affairs to cut the victuals from coming thither by sea, sent Mons. de Beez + with 15,000 men (as they bruted, but

* See papers of 1555 for some account of this nobleman.

† A marshal of France, of distinguished bravery. His son-in-law, James de Coucy Vervin, was Governor of Boulogne when it surrendered to the English in the preceding September, and was soon after beheaded for his cowardly, if not treacherous, conduct on that occasion.

in deed 10 or 12,000) to encamp themselves beside Boulogne for that purpose ; who came to a place, being the slant of a hill commanding the town on the other side of the water that cometh in from the sea, making the haven ; whereas they encamped themselves very strongly, with great and deep trenches, and bulwarks, raised with earth, to flank the same, whereas they planted their artillery, being in demi-cannons, culverins, and bastard culverins, about 10 or 12 pieces, besides other small field pieces, falcons, and bases. And after they had lain there 13 or 14 days (never issuing out of their camp, but when the water was high, so as our men could not come to them, and then they would run down towards the water, (as it is such confessed by divers prisoners,) to view where they might put in execution their purpose for the making of some bulwarks for the beating of the haven ; and yet they were then sometime with ordnance shot of metal withal from a fortress which the King's Majesty makes beside the tower Dorder, for the keeping of the haven, and sundry of them slain) the Lord Admiral, who for that time was the King's Lieutenant there, considering how necessary it should be to remove them from thence, if it might conveniently be done betime, ere any greater force came to them (which they vaunted they looked for) did not only consult with such other captains and men of experience as the King's Majesty hath at Boulogne, but also sent to the Earl of Hertford, Great Chamberlain of

England, who at that time was at Guisnes, sent ~~two~~ thither for special purposes, to have his advice, and the Lord Gray's with others there. Whereupon after a mature deliberation, it was concluded that the said Earl of Hertford and the Lord Gray should repair to Boulogne, with some part of the crew in the marches of Calais; which they did, to the number of 1500 footmen, and 400 horsemen; and, after their arrival there and one day's respite, they issued out in order of battle, the aforesaid men that came from Guisnes, and about 2000 footmen, and certain horsemen of the garrison of Boulogne; and so marched towards a place a mile above the town, where, with certain horsemen, the Marshal of Boulogne had caused a bridge to be made for the passage of the army; which passage the Frenchmen thinking to take away from our men, did not only send all their horsemen thither to defend the same, but also two pieces of artillery, which pieces the said Marshal won, with the passage, and put the French horsemen to flight; whereupon the army began to shrink, and to fly from their camp; and so our Captains staying the footmen at that passage, the horsemen marched forward toward the camp of the enemy, and at their arriving found them flying, having left behind them all their artillery, ammunition, victuals, tents, bags, baggages, mulets, and all other their carriages; whereupon our horsemen entered the chase, and their horsemen, with certain of their harquebuseers, reversed to the same; and so at the last came certain of our

footmen, and the skirmish was very hot ; and amongst the rest Mons. de Beez was captured, and his sword taken from him, and hurt in two or three places, and after rescued again. In which skirmish was slain and taken, about 6 or 700, and not one of their horsemen but was hurt, either himself or his horse ; and of our men, thanks be to God, not one man taken or slain. And by this time all their footmen were fled ; and the horsemen turned and went after ; and had it not been that the night approached, and that the Captains had much respect to the preservation of the things they had won, there had been defeated undoubtedly 3 or 4000 more of them.

Furthermore, you will understand that the King's Highness having considered such points of sundry of your letters as require an answer, hath commanded us to signify unto you his Highness's pleasure is you shall not press the Warden of the Middle Marches to take other hostages of Bourdworth and Greenhead than he hath already taken, unless there be other matters to charge them withal than appeareth hitherto by advertisements from thence, and would that they should be made as much of as can conveniently ; providing, also, that they may be helped and relieved as much as you may without the great loss and hazard of our men ; for if they be not relieved, it shall not only cause them of necessity to revolt from you, but also make others afraid to enter hereafter.

As touching Mewrus,* his Majesty is pleased that notwithstanding the same cannot well be fortified, and kept for his Majesty's use, for the difficulty of victuals, yet it shall not be defaced except it appear that the same may be fortified and kept against his Majesty by the enemies.

The Archbishop of York shall be dispatched hence immediately, and bring with him such commissions as you desired in your late letters concerning the benevolence. His Majesty hath received your last letters, and mindeth to make answer to the same shortly. Thus fare you heartily well. From Westminster, the 12th of February, 1544.

Your good Lordship's assured loving friends,

THOMAS WROTHESLEY, Cancel.

W. ESSEX.

J. RUSSELL.

W. SAINT JOHN.†

ANTONY BROWNE

JOHN GAGE.

WILLIAM PAGE

CHARLES SUFFOLK.

*To our very good Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury,
the King's Majesty's Lieutenant-General in
the North parts.*

* Melros, in Roxburghshire; still called Mewrus by the common people. See in subsequent papers some account of a disaster which befel the English troops there.

† William Powlett, Lord St. John of Basing, afterwards Earl of Wiltshire and Marquis of Winchester: ancestor of the Dukes of Bolton. He was appointed Lord Treasurer to Edward VI. and had the singular address to maintain himself in that high office through three reigns of very different characters. He died in 1572, aged 97, says Camden, but according to Lord Burghley's obituary, the end of Murdin's Papers, 87.

No. XXXIX.

(Talbot Papers, vol. A. fol. 313. 1544.)

LORDS OF THE COUNCIL
TO THE EARL OF SHEWSBURY.

After our most hearty commendations. The King's Majesty understanding by your Lordship's several letters, and other advertisements, what misfortune hath lately happened to the late Warden of the Middle Marches,* and certain others of his Highness's captains, gentlemen, and others, at this late voyage into Scotland, and thinking it necessary to have the place of the said late Warden supplied, hath presently addressed for that purpose our very loving friend Sir Robert Bowes, Knight, to be the Lord Warden of the Middle Marches, and to have the rule of Tynedale and Riddesdale,† with such and like retinue and commodities as Sir Ralph Eure late held and occupied the same ; unto whom his Highness's pleasure is your Lordship shall be aiding and assisting in all such things

* Sir Ralph Eure, or Evers, eldest son of Lord Eure, and the bravest man of that military family. He returned to London a few months before the date of this letter, from a successful expedition into Scotland ; having laid waste the country about Jedburgh and Kelso, and afterwards Teviotdale ; and applying for a reward, Henry sent him thither again, with 4000 men, and the promise of as much land as he could win from the Scots. This vast prospect encouraging his natural rashness, he plunged into unnecessary dangers, and lost his life, with most of his companions, in an ambush at Melrose, or Muirhouse, a fortified place near Hawdon, or Halydon, Ridge, in West Teviotdale.

† Tynedale and Riddesdale are two small districts near Tyne-head. They are divided by that river, and were at this time the principal nurseries of the border predators.

as may tend to the speedy furniture of him in the said places.

And, because you write that you fear that, for want of victuals upon the borders, such men of the Bishoprick, and others of Yorkshire, as are already, or must shortly draw towards the borders, shall not be able to remain there ; your Lordship will understand that for remedy thereof we have written and sent money to Mr. Stanhope, to Hull, for provision to be made and sent unto you with as much diligence as may be possibly. And, for a more speedy relief of this scarcity, his Majesty's pleasure is that your Lordship shall send unto all such places of Yorkshire where any victuals may be had, for the sending of the same by horse or otherwise ; and that ye travel by all ways and means possible to get as much victuals that way as may be had. As for money, his Highness's pleasure is that a mean sum shall be sent unto you out of hand ; and, besides that, order is taken here with the Archbishop of York, who taketh his journey to-morrow hence northwards, that all such money as shall be there levied by the Benevolence shall remain also with you, to be employed for the payment of the garrisons, and such other necessary uses as shall be requisite.

His Majesty takes in good your diligence used for bestowing of the Bishoprick-men, and others, upon the borders ; unto the defence whereof his Highness requires your Lordship to have such an earnest regard as the weight of the matters do at this present require ; for the better defence where-

ur is also taken here for Spaniards to be
ito you, who are already on their journey
s you. And thus we bid your Lordship
eartily farewell. From Westminster, the
March.

Your Lordship's assured loving friends,
MAS WROTHESLEY, Cancel.

WESSELL.	WILLIAM PETRE.
ISLE.*	CHARLES SUFFOLK.
ONY BROWNE.	W. ESSEX.
PHEN WILTON.	W. SAINT JOHN.
IS. WESTMINSTER.	

in Dudley, son of Edmund Dudley, Speaker of the House
mons in the last reign, by Elizabeth, daughter, and at
neir, to Edward Grey, Viscount Lisle. Henry VIII.
ppeased the popular fury by beheading this gentleman's
r helping to amass the great treasures which were left
the King, was easily prevailed on to take the son under his
m. He was accordingly bred in the Court, and, having
offices of Master of the Armoury in the Tower, and Ma-
jor to Queen Anne of Cleve, was advanced to the title of
t Lisle, and appointed Lord Admiral of England, in 1542
3. In this important post he conducted himself with
rourage and sagacity, as well in the present campaign in
I as at the siege of Boulogne, and in 1546 was again sent
e, to make one of those sudden attacks which distinguish-
military practice of that time: he returned not long before
g's death, and was one of the executors of his last will.
eginning of the next reign the Protector deprived him of
of Admiral, creating him at the same time Earl of War-
rd adding to that compliment the office of Great Chamber-
l a grant of Warwick Castle, formerly the seat of his
s: but he was not of a disposition to accept of honours in
e for power; and conceived, probably on this occasion, a
l enmity to the Protector which terminated in the ruin of
ties. The victory of Musselborough, in the same year,
as owing chiefly to his prudence, and his success against
folk rebels in 1549, had placed him high in the estima-
the people; the disaffected members of the Council, in

Postscript. Since the making of these letter— it is thought that the Spaniards, being footmen, will be very long in coming to the borders ; and, therefore, it is thought best to stay them from coming to you, and to employ their service otherwise. His Majesty also requires your Lordship to search for a perfect knowledge of what is done in this voyage, how many are slain and taken on either side, and, after, advertise his Highness of the same with diligence.

*To our very good Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury,
the King's Majesty's Lieutenant-General in
the North.*

which number were many great noblemen, wanted a leader of abilities ; they readily agreed to place him in that situation, and he soon found himself powerful enough to strive with Somerset for the possession of the young King's person, which having gained, he proceeded to the public sacrifice of that good minister. The concluding circumstances of his life form a material part of our history. It is well known that Edward, who created him Duke of Northumberland, was prevailed on by him to exclude the doubtful titles of Mary and Elizabeth, by entailing the succession on Lady Jane Grey, and that the strength of his party proved insufficient for the support of so iniquitous a stroke of ambition. He was beheaded on Tower Hill, August 22, 1553.

This nobleman married Jane, daughter and heir of Sir Edward Guldeford, Knight ; by whom he had issue, eight sons and five daughters : Henry, killed at the siege of Boulogne ; Thomas, who died an infant ; John, created Earl of Warwick in his father's life time ; Ambrose, advanced to the same title by Queen Elizabeth ; Robert, the famous Earl of Leicester ; Guldeford, or Guilford, who suffered death with his wife Lady Jane Grey ; Henry, and Charles, who died unmarried. The daughters were, Mary, married to Sir Henry Sidney, K.G. ; Catherine, wife of Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon ; Margaret, Temperance, and Catherine, who died in childhood.



No. XL.

(Talbot Papers, vol. A. fol. 309. 1544.)

ROBERT LEWEN, MAYOR OF NEWCASTLE,
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

EASETH it your honourable Lordship to be ad-
vised that, where we received your letters,
ed at Darnetone the 26th of February, for set-
; forth ships to the sea, as well to keep open
trade as to annoy the enemies ; after the re-
pt of which letters we did answer unto your
d Lordship by our letter, dated at Newcastle,
27th of the said month, that there were at that
nt no more ships meet for the wars within the
en but four, which were laden towards Brabant ;
that the residue of the ships appertaining to this
n were in the King's Majesty's service at Calais,
logue, and Dover, with whom were also the
t part of our mariners ; and that we had in his
ice's works at Tynemouth 100 men, and at the
ders, by your Lordship's command, 111 ; so
there remained in this town but about the
iber of 50, whom Sir Oswald Wistroke, by
ne of the King's Majesty's commission, had
it, with two of the said four laden ships ; and
we had a scarcity of malt, and not ordinance
cient to furnish one ship ; notwithstanding,
rding to our most bounden duties, with all our
ts and good wills, as obedient subjects, we
ld be ready to do as your good Lordship
ld think possible, to the utmost of our powers,
premises considered.

Now, our good Lord, at your last being a —t Newcastle, it pleased your Lordship to declare — unto us that we should take such ships and me — as we should think meet to set to the sea, for the intent and purpose aforesaid, at our charges, notwithstanding any commission to the contrary there — of ; and, for that we are desirous to accomplish the King's Majesty's pleasure, we have consulted with the shipmates and mariners whom we have found willing to serve, if they might have such ships as they desire, and think most meet and convenient for that purpose (which are the Myghell, of Henry Anderson, and the George, of Andrew Bewick) to be victualled and furnished with other necessaries, and to be discharged from other commissions. Whereupon, we, perceiving their readiness, and that there are certain mariners come home since the date of our said letters, and at this present about 30 quarters of malt come in, which will help towards the setting forth of the same, have determined to man and victual the said two ships, at our charges, with such ordinance as we have within this town, or can get, if it may stand with your Lordship's pleasure that we shall ship the said masters and mariners in the said two ships, and to take other soldiers for the furnishing of the same ; beseeching your good Lordship that it would please you to write to Master Bovill, that, for the better furnishing of the said two ships, we may have such ordnance as is needful of that which was in the ships the last year, we being bound to restore the same again ; and that we may know

your derminate pleasure in the premises by your letters, whereby we may be the better instructed how we shall proceed to the purpose and intent aforesaid, wherein we shall endeavour ourselves to the best of our powers, according to our most bounden duties ; as knoweth our Lord God, who send your good Lordship long continuance, with the increase of much honour. Written at the King's Majesty's town of Newcastle, the 6th of March.

Your Lordship's, humbly at command, the Mayor, with assent of his brethren and others the inhabitants,

ROBERT LEWEN.

*To the right honourable and our singular
good Lord my Lord of Shrewsbury,
the King's Majesty's Lieutenant in the
North parts.*

No. XLI.

(Howard Papers. 1544.)

THE EARL OF LENNOX AND LORD WHARTON
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

PLEASETH your honourable Lordship to be advertised, that John Edgar, Scotchman, prisoner to me the Lord Wharton, came to Carlisle the 10th of March at night ; which Edgar we have sent as our messenger divers times for our practise to the Earl of Glencairn, and the Master of Glencairn,*

* The Earl of Glencairn and his son, the Master of Glencairn (or Lord Kilmaurs), had embraced the English interest in April ; accepted of pensions from Henry in July ; abandoned that Prince in September (See a letter of the 19th of that month), and now again offered their services to him. A versatility of public conduct too gross even for the present age, or at least too glaring to be covered by the specious varnish of modern politicians.

to have allured them into this realm in form as your Lordship has been advertised from us. The same Edgar has brought unto me the Earl of Lennox one letter from the Master of Glencairn, and for his credence hath shewed the same accordingly as we have written, both which letter and credence we send unto your Lordship herewith. And, considering you reckon the credence by your devices to be of some importance, (as indeed it appears they have much studied for the same) we have thought good to send the said Edgar unto your Lordship to shew at length what he can say, being a special servant to the Earl of Glencairn; and also by his coming to your Lordship there will, with many in Scotland, no good opinion be conceived in them, as we think. And we require your Lordship that we may know your pleasure what answer we shall make to the said credence, or any part thereof. And Almighty God preserve your Lordship. From Carlisle, this 12th of day of March.

Your Lordship's assured loving friends,

MATTHEW, Earl of LENNOX.

THOMAS WHARTON.

We pray your Lordship to give the bearer good words, for he is very diligent at our commands.

A Remembrance of JOHN EDGAR'S proceedings in Scotland,
dispatched from Carlisle the 27th February.

First, he says that he came to the Mr. Kilmaurs at Glasgow, the 1st of March, and delivered my Lord of Lennox's letter to him; upon sight whereof he said to Edgar, that, albeit my Lord of Lennox desired him to come to speak with him, he durst not take on hand so to do, doubting the Governor would therefore come upon his friends; yet nevertheless, if my Lord of Lennox and my Lord Wharton would send him a safe conduct for 30 days safely to pass and repass, he would thereupon come to Carlisle, or to some other convenient place in England, to speak with them in a quiet manner. And in this point he willed Edgar to keep the same secret from his father, and all others, Scotsmen, in that realm.

The Mr. Kilmaurs bade Edgar say to my Lord of Lennox, and to my Lord Wharton, that if my Lord of Lennox would sue to the King's Majesty for a commission to himself, and others, two noble men of England (wherein he seemed to be desirous to have my Lord Wharton one) and by that commission to receive authority to treat and conclude a peace, and to receive the offers of Scotland for the marriage of that Princess, he was assured that the King's Highness should have his pleasure, in all causes his Majesty would desire, in a short time; so that the Earl of Lennox could obtain this commission, and therewith repair to Dumbarton, bringing also with him the Earl of Cassilis, and the Lord Maxwell, and to bring with those commis-

sioners as many ships with like number of men as came with my Lord of Lennox at his last being there. The Mr. Kilmaurs bade Edgar also say that the Earl his father, and himself, were out of trust with the Governor and his friends ; but the Cardinal hath much trust in them, for they know his mind is towards the agreement of the peace, and to my Lord of Lennox's purpose. He bade him also say that he did see letters shewed unto him by the Cardinal that came from the French King to the Governor and the Abbot of Paisley, which mentioned that one Delycray, Frenchman, was ready to come into Scotland forthwith, with money and munition ; how much, the letters did not ascertain ; and soon after, one Lorge Maquire should arrive there, with 400,000 crowns and a good number of men forth of France. It appeared in the said letters that the French King has written to the King of Denmark to prepare such number of men forth of his dominion of Denmark as he may furnish to pass into Scotland, in haste, to aid the Scots, and the French King will pay their wages. And yet he bade Edgar say that he perceived by the Cardinal's words that the Cardinal had no trust to the coming either of the men or money, but a protraction of time, with fair words from the French King.

Edgar also says that on the third of March he delivered a letter from my Lord Wharton to the Earl of Glencairn, at Fyndliston, a manor place of his, upon the next morrow after the Mr. Kilmaurs came from Glasgow to his father at Fyndliston ;

and there the Earl of Glencairn presently, with his son the Master of Kilmaurs, bade Edgar say to my Lord Wharton that, like as he perceived by his son that he had moved Edgar to say from him even so he thought convenient that the Earl of Lennox should sue for the commission in form as afore ; and to bring at the least with them 5000 men ; and in any wise that my Lord Wharton might be in that commission, for his son might supply his room upon the west borders of England during his absence ; and he doubted not but if the Earl of Lennox might obtain that commission, with such a number of men, and to bring with him also the Earl of Cassilis and the Lord Maxwell, all things would be dressed to the King's Majesty's pleasure, and the weal of both realms. And he was sure that the Cardinal, with the most part of the noblemen of Scotland, except the Governor and his brother, were well minded to consent to the peace and marriage in form, as the noblemen, the King's Highness's prisoners had promised, and for the same so delivered their pledges.

Also they bade Edgar say that it should be best that the said commissioners should come with that power of 5000 men, to the Garlough, upon the coast, near to Dumbarton ; there to remain until those commissioners, with such other commissioners of Scotland, might meet to treat upon these causes, and to enter pledges on both sides for assurance to perform their premises. And likewise they bade Edgar say that it would be well done that my Lord of Lennox in the mean time

addressed his letters to the Earl of the Illis, to meet with the said commissioners at the Garlough, to join with them in their treaties for the King's Majesty's purpose ; and if it were known in Scotland that the Earl of Illis did come for maintenance of my Lord of Lennox's causes, it would be mean to put many in Scotland in fear to be against the Earl of Lennox, and also that no powers should assemble at that present for any displeasure. And further they bade him say, that they thought good that, afore the setting forwards of the commissioners, it should be bruited along the borders of England that the King's Majesty's army was coming to invade upon Scoland ; whereby it would cause the Scotsmen to sue to my Lord of Lennox to stay the army, and, therewith to make the Scots (with a fear thereof) the more conformable to the peace.

The Earl of Glencairn bade him say to the Lord Wharton that he would have given 500 nobles so that he and the Lord Wharton might have had meeting together, instead of Sir Ralph Eure and George Douglas, for neither of them trusted to open their minds. And the Earl of Glencairn doubteth nothing but, if the Lord Wharton might be in this commission, that he might speak with him, all things would be dressed to the King's Majesty's pleasure ; and desireth the Lord Wharton that for any thing that his Highness would have him to do that his Majesty would write to him, and he should obey the same conformably to his bond remaining with his Highness. The Earl of

Glencairn bade him say to my Lord of Lennox that he should wish in his heart his good speed in all his causes, which he would further, like as he had great favour to his house, and had shed his blood for my Lord of Lennox's father, and so would do for him to obtain his purpose, in case he never had good of him hereafter. The Earl of Glencairn bade him say to my Lord Wharton that the Governor commanded him to be with him at the late encounter beside Jedworth; but he says that his answer was that, so long as he was the King's Majesty's prisoner, he would not assemble, nor be against his Majesty's people; for he knew his Highness's purpose was for the weal of Scotland. And he stayed himself, with all his men, at home; and the whole Shirewick of Ayr, and others.

And, after all these credences received by Edgar, the Master Kilmaurs delivered him a letter to my Lord of Lennox, of credence in all these as afore. And therewith bade Edgar say that if the Earl of Lennox put any doubts in these causes, or for his coming into Scotland, he would promise his son, lying in this realm as pledge, (whom he best loved) to suffer death, if all the same were not performed. And so the said Edgar departed from the said Earl of Glencairn, and Mr. Kilmaurs at Kilmaurs, the 8th of March, and came to Carlisle the 10th of the same.

The said Earl of Glencairn bade Edgar also say that at the late convention at Edinburgh, about Candlemas last, the Governor was more out of

favor with all the noblemen of Scotland than ever he was ; and sundry of them said there openly at their departure, that they would not hastily come to any more conventions at his appointment. The Earl of Glencairn, because he did not write by Edgar, did inform him to shew a token to my Lord Wharton, which was that at the being at Carlisle of the Earl of Glencairn, my Lord Wharton and Sir Robert Bowes, Knight, walking in the castle together, did let the Earl see a letter which Robert Maxwell, Priest, brought them from his master, wherein they all perceived small effects ; which token is true.

MATTHEW, Earl of LENNOX.
THOMAS WHARTON.

No. XLII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. A. fol. 325.)

LORDS OF THE COUNCIL
TO THE COUNCIL IN THE NORTH.*

AFTER our hearty commendations unto your good Lordship. The King's Majesty hath seen your

* After the civil commotions in the North, which followed the suppression of religious houses by Henry VIII., the Duke of Norfolk, who commanded the army, gave a formal authority under his seal to certain persons of worth in those parts to take cognizance of the complaints of the country people who had suffered by the violence of either party ; and the King, hearing of it, approved of the idea, and sent down a peculiar seal for the purpose. Afterwards, the Duke being recalled, the seal was given to Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, with the title of President of the North ; and his council was appointed by the King, with express orders in their commission "to hear and determine on the complaints of the poor ;" but their authority was afterwards extended to all affairs on the borders, as appears by this letter, and other papers. See more of this Council in a letter from Sir Thomas Gargrave, in March, 1548.

letters of the 13th of this instant, and, understanding by the advertisements from the Lord Wharton that the Master of Kilmores is desirous to have a safe conduct to come to Carlisle, his Majesty, thinking it nothing prejudicial to hear what he will say, is pleased to grant the said safe conduct for him to remain in England during the space of six days. And, because it may be that his coming to Carlisle should be rather to practise with the Earl of Lennox, to abuse or seduce him, than for any other purpose, we have written to the said Earl, by his Majesty's commandment, to the intent he may be the better armed, both to note his overtures, and answer the same accordingly.

And, where it appears by the letters of Gilbert Swignolo that the Scots have given order for the stay of such gentlemen as were taken prisoners at Mewrus, minding, as it should seem, to ransom some of his Majesty's prisoners taken at the Solenmoss ; his Majesty's pleasure is that your Lordship shall cause all such Captains and gentlemen as were taken at this journey to Mewrus to be well considered, noting especially those which are meet men for service ; and to consider also what prisoners of the Scots remain here, or pledges for them, being none of them noblemen ; and, after that you shall have considered the same of both sides, his Majesty's pleasure is you shall advertise his Highness which of the said Scots, and for whom, you think them meet to be exchanged ; upon knowing whereof his Majesty will declare

his Highness's further pleasure touching the same.

Touching the fortifications at Berwick, because Sir Richard Lee was come from Tynemouth before the receipt of your letters, his Highness mindeth to dispatch Archan unto your Lordship, to be by you addressed to Berwick for that purpose ; for whose furniture, with money for the said fortifications, his Highness's pleasure is your Lordship shall appoint such sums of his Highness's treasure there as shall be requisite. As for corn, powder, and munitions, order is taken here for the sending of powder unto you, but spears we could not send any at this present, and therefore they must take further order for the help thereof until provision may be made here for the same.

The King's Majesty hath also seen your letters, my Lord of Durham, with the schedule containing the names of such as are thought meet for the office of Captain of Norham* and taketh your Lordship's offer in very good part ; and considering the good and painful service done by Sir George Bowes, his Majesty, thinking him a very meet man for the said office, hath named him for the same, and prays your Lordship to appoint him to the same accordingly.

Finally, where it appears that, among other

* Norham, or the North Hamlet, situated at the northernmost point of Northumberland, and consequently much exposed to the Scottish incursions. It had a castle of considerable strength, placed on a hill which rises abruptly above the Tweed, large remains of which are yet extant. The precinct of the castle lately belonged to the family of Fenwick of Leamington.

risoners, Read, the Alderman of London,* is risoner in Scotland ; his Highness pleasure is that there may be any good mean devised for his ~~redeeming~~, that your Lordship shall also take such good order for getting of him again as you shall think most convenient. Thus we bid your good Lordship most heartily farewell.

From Westminster, the 18th of March, 1544.

Your good Lordship's assured loving friends,

T. NORFOLK.

E. HERTFORD.†

CHARLES SUFFOLK.

THOS. WESTMINSTER.

W. ESSEX.

STEPHEN WINTON.‡

WILLIAM PETRES.

* See No. XXXVI. Lord Herbert, who slightly mentions this curious circumstance, informs us that the obstinate Alderman's ransom amounted to far more than the sum demanded of him on account of the benevolence.

† Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, afterwards Duke of Somerset ; uncle to Edward VI. and Protector during that Prince's short reign. He was beheaded Jan. 22, 1552.

‡ Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and perhaps the most refined politician of his time ; one of the many eminent persons selected from the multitude by Wolsey's unerring judgment, and elevated by his favour. We have no correct account of his descent. Bishop Burnet tells us that he was supposed to have been a bastard of Richard Widdeville, brother to Edward the Fourth's Queen. One of Rawlinson's MSS in the Bodleian library, with more probability, makes him a younger son of Sir Thomas Gardiner, Knight, the representative of a very ancient family in Lancashire. After having travelled with the Duke of Norfolk's sons, he became Secretary to the Cardinal in the business of the Chancery ; and was recommended by that Prelate to the King, who employed him in several embassies to the principal Courts of Europe, and at length appointed him a Secretary of State. He negotiated at Rome, the critical affair of Henry's divorce, and though a bigotted Catholic, of which he left many bloody marks, renounced the Pope's supremacy on oath, having been not long

Postscript. And, because it appears, by the letters from Bromeston that his Majesty's enemies in Scotland cause the numbers to be persuaded that his Majesty will accept no conditions nor offers for the peace, but minds the utter destruction and desolation of that country ; his Majesty's pleasure is that you, Mr. Sadler, shall signify by cypher to the said Bromeston, to be by him further declared, his Majesty's good inclination ; after such sort as the same was shewed here to the Earl of Cassilis, which was also adveritsed hence unto you ; to the intent that the report of his Majesty's clemency, proceeding as well from Brum-

before promoted to the Bishopric of Winchester. This hypocritical concession kept him in favour till toward the end of this capricious reign ; when, having been discovered in a plot against Queen Katherine Par, on account of some conscientious scruples entertained by that honest lady in matters of faith, he was suddenly disgraced, and Henry struck his name from the list of his executors. Soon after the accession of Edward VI. he was deprived, and committed to the Tower, for opposing the progress of the Reformation ; and remained a prisoner till the King's death, when Mary restored him to his Bishopric, and made him Lord Chancellor. He was a prime actor in the scenes of horror which followed, and had scarcely received the intelligence of the burning of Ridley and Latimer, for which he had waited with the utmost anxiety, when he was seized with a strange distemper, which carried him off in the second week in November, 1555.

A biographer of a singular cast, who wrote about a century after Gardiner's death, gives us a part of that Prelate's original character, in the following original terms : " His reservedness," says Lloyd, " was such, that he never did what he aimed at, never aimed at what he intended, never intended what he said, and never said what he thought ; whereby he carried it so, that others should do his business when they opposed it, and he should undermine theirs when he seemed to promote it. A man that was to be traced like the fox, and read like the Hebrew, backward : If you would know what he did, you must observe what he did not."

ston, as the Earl of Cassilis, may have the more credit and knowledge amongst them. We send unto your Lordship the Earl of Lennox's letter unsealed, to the intent you may peruse the same, and dispatch it accordingly.

*To our very good Lord, the Earl of Shrewsbury,
the King's Majesty's Lieutenant-General in the
North; and to the rest of his Highness's Privy
Council there.*

No. XLIII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. A. fol. 329.)

THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY,
TO LORD WHARTON.

My very good Lord,
AFTER my hearty commendations to your good Lordship. I have this day received letters from my very good Lord the Earl of Cumberland, a copy whereof, and another of my answer to my said Lord again, I send unto your Lordship herewith, to the intent you may be privy to the same.

My Lord, in case the Scots do make any attempts for Langhome, and that ye intend to go to the rescue thereof in your own person (which I would not wish that you should do, unless that your Lordship should have a substantial regard, as well to the King's Majesty's town of Carlisle, as also to my Lord of Lennox, and especially if he be not gone afore to the Earl of Cassilis) I pray you to remember that lack of good order was the only destruction of the late Warden of the Middle Marches, and overthrow of such as were with him at Mewrus; I pray to God it may be an example to all Englishmen hereafter.

I write unto your Lordship, as I would c
my own son, if he were in that office which yo
in ; as knoweth our Lord, who have you, my
good Lord, in his blessed keeping. From D
ton, the 19th day of March, 1544.

No. XLIV.

(Howard Papers. 1545.)

THE EARL OF GLENCAIRN
TO LORD WHARTON.

Right Honourable,
AFTER hearty commendations to your Lord
This is to advertise your Lordship that I
received one writing from the King's Maj
Council, this 29th day of June, dated at the K
Majesty's manor of St. James, the 21st day c
same ; thanking the King's Majesty and his C
cil, of your good advertisement, the which com
me right greatly. Nevertheless I am gr
marvelled that I have written so oft and d
times to my Lord of Lennox, now being wit
Majesty, and as yet never got any answer
him ; through the which his house that he le
into stands in great danger ; for there is one
risen in this realm that he should not be a
liberty, but prisoner in England ; through
which bruit his household men, and divers o
friends are astonished, and beginning to seek
masters, and to have appointments for themsel
and so the place is in such danger, that if I
get not his hand-writing of his proceedings, c
the least of his welfare, they will not remai



Dunbarton, but seek their own way ; and, as for me, I, seeing your disappearance, fear my own person to remain amongst them, and had rather the house were in danger to be taken by them than the house and I both taken. And therefore, if your ~~not~~ not hasty written from my Lord of Lennox's self, that his friends may surely know his prosperity, and that within 8 or 9 days, I will withdraw me to my own country amongst my friends, where I may keep myself. And this I pray you advertise the King's Majesty, and also my Lord Lieutenant, because he is nearest you, that some remedy may be found ; for now I advertise you that the King's Majesty may be advertised hereof, for I have written to my Lord of Lennox, to the same effect, that if any inconvenience come, that I may discharge myself conformably to mine honour.

Also I pray you advertise me what manner of letters you sent me this last time, for I have suspicion that the letter that I got was opened ere I received it. Also ye shall receive one bill of tithings to me from Sterling, the which ye will perceive ; and also now one other bill coming to me when I was in writing to you this present letter, forth of Argyle. I have sent to my Lord of Cassilis, my Lord of Angus, and Sir George Douglas, to draw them to a trist where that they and I may surely speak together ; and after the King's Majesty shall know their minds and proceedings, not only by my advertisement, but by your own hand-writings. Ye may perceive by

your letters what controversies and parties are within this realm ; and the long tarrying of my Lord of Lennox is appearing to do evil, and especially the danger of the house of Dunbarton, as I have before written. And further as all things occur I shall advertise you, praying you to do so to me. And God the Father preserve you eternally. From Dunbarton, this last day of June.

By your assured friend,

WILLIAM, Earl of GLENCAIRN.*

*To the Right honourable my Lord Wharton,
Warden of the West Marches of England
next to Scotland.*

No. XLV.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. A. fol. 359.)

THE EARL OF HERTFORD
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

AFTER my right hearty commendations to your Lordship. Forasmuch as the King's Majesty's ancient enemies, the Scots and Frenchmen, of their insatiable malice against this realm, intending by all means they can possibly, both by sea and land, with many armies to annoy the same in such places as

* William Cunningham, fourth Earl of Glencairn, formerly Lord Treasurer of Scotland (see much of his history in papers and notes in the two last years). He married, first Catherine daughter of William, Lord Borthwick ; secondly, Margaret, daughter and heir of John Campbell, of West Loudon ; and had by the latter, Alexander, his successor ; four other sons ; and a daughter, Elizabeth, wife to Sir John Cunningham of Caprinton. This nobleman died in 1547.

they shall think to do most harm, are now assembled with a great power to make invasion in this realm; for resistance of whose malice, and preservation of the King's Majesty's realm, it is requisite and necessary forthwith to levy an army royal of his subjects within the limits of my commission, to repulse his said enemies; for putting whereof in a more readiness, the Earl of Shrewsbury then the King's Lieutenant* directed late his letters into all shires within his commission, warning all men to be in readiness by the 12th day of May last past for the purpose aforesaid to march forwards, upon a new warning to be given unto them, by proclamation or otherwise.

Not doubting but ye, receiving the said commandment, are now in good readiness in that behalf, I therefore will and desire you, and nevertheless in the King's Majesty's name straightly charge and command you, forthwith to send and set forwards the number prescribed unto you herein of your servants, tenants, and others within your rooms and offices in Yorkshire; to be chosen and picked men. Whereof the fourth part of your said number to be very good archers, furnished every one with a bow of ewe, and 24 arrows in a sheaf, and his dagger, and his sword or mall of

* The Earl of Hertford having lately returned from France, was again sent into Scotland, with an army of twelve thousand men, superseding, as appears by this letter, the Earl of Shrewsbury in his command there. The name of the latter occurring here in the third person was owing, as it should seem, to the Secretary's having neglected to substitute *your Lordship* for *the Earl of Shrewsbury*, in this particular transcript of a circular letter to the men of power in the north.

lead or iron ; and the rest of your said number to have every of them a good bill, with his dagger ; making as many of your number as ye may to be horsemen with spears, or to be archers, horsed of that sort that they may be able to do service when they come to the borders ; and that they repair with all speed hither to Newcastle, the second day of September, where they shall receive such reasonable and ordinary allowance as in such case hath been accustomed at the arrival of your said company to the place aforesaid ; bringing with them all such provision of victuals and carriages as they may for the furniture of your said number. Fail you not hereof upon pain of your allegiance, and as you tender the wealth of this realm. From Newcastle, the 22nd day of August, 1545.

Your loving friend,
E. HERTFORD.

Postscript. I will, and nevertheless charge you, that you foresee, and have especial regard, to the choosing and appointing of your number of men, footmen, now newly assigned unto you to repair as aforesaid ; so that the same may be picked, and of the best men you have, well armed, and weaponed accordingly ; assuring you that like as in doing your duties to the King's Majesty in these his Highness's affairs of weighty importance, I will accordingly declare the same so, on the other part, in case at their arrival any of your men shall be found not meet to serve, they shall not only be

returned home again with rebukes, as appertains, but, also, I will not fail to signify that your untowardness in such sort as shall be nothing to your contentment; trusting, nevertheless, you will foresee the occasion of the same as required.

The said Earl to send 100 men.

To my very good Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury. In haste—haste post, haste with all possible diligence. Post of Ferrybrige; I charge you, on the King's Majesty's behalf to deliver these letters according to their direction, upon pain of your allegiance.

No. XLVI.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. B. fol. 7. 1545.)

THE EARL OF LENNOX
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

AFTER my most hearty commendations unto your good Lordship, this shall be to signify unto the same that I have received the King's Majesty's letters from your Lordship this Monday, being the 13th day of this month, commanding me to certify your Lordship in writing of the names of all such prisoners and pledges as I have in my custody; declaring in the same what manner of men they are; wherefore they lie; whose prisoners they are; and of what worthiness, substance, and behaviour they are. My Lord, true it is at my first journey to Dumfries, upon the West Marches of Scotland, there came into the King's Majesty's service, by my procuring, the most part of the Lairds of Galloway; such as the Laird of Garlies, the Laird of

Lochinvar, and the Tutor of Bonbye ;* who I brought with me to Carlisle, where they did enter their pledges unto the Lord Wharton, being then Lord Warden of the West Marches. And, forasmuch as the Laird of Garlies is my near kinsman, and also of my surname, I did take in my custody, by my Lord of Somerset's license, only the said Lord's son, being of the age of 16 years ; whose substance I do not know perfectly, but, by my judgment, his father may spend 1500 marks Scots, which is all I can certify your Lordship in this matter ; and if I could make any further declaration in the same, I would not fail, according to my bounden duty. And thus I bid your good Lordship most heartily farewell. From the King's Majesty's Castle of Wressel,† the 13th day of January.

Your Lordship's assured loving friend,
MATTHEW LENNOX.

*To the right honourable and my singalar
good Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury Lord
President of the King's Majesty's Coun-
cil established in the North parts.*

* Tutor, or guardian, to the Laird of Bonbye, then probably a minor.

† Near Howden, in the East Riding of Yorkshire. It was a stately castle, built in the reign of Richard II. by a younger brother of the Percys, Earls of Worcester, "for lak of heirs of whom, and by favor of the King," saith Leland, it came to the Earls of Northumberland. Henry, sixth Earl, dying without issue a short time after the attainder and execution of his only surviving brother, Sir Thomas Percy, in 1538, gave this castle and manor, with other of his estates, to the King, in hopes perhaps of bribing his clemency towards the remaining branches of the family ; and Mary restored them, together with the titles, in 1556, to Thomas, eldest son of the above-mentioned Sir Thomas. Wressel Castle, which had been grievously damaged during the grand rebellion, was at last demolished by order of the parliament, in 1650.

No. XLVII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. A. fol. 335.)

SIR THOMAS SEYMOUR
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

AFTER my most hearty commendations, these shall be to certify your Lordship that the King's Majesty's Council's pleasure and commandment was that I should send your Lordship one half last of corn powder, and a half last of serpentine powder, with match sufficient for the same, to be disposed in the country at your Lordship's will and discretion ; all which ye shall receive by this bearer, Christopher Starkey, who is appointed for the convenience thereof to New Castile ; desiring your Lordship therefore that he may have a discharge for the receipt of the same, of such as your Lordship shall appoint in that behalf.

It may further please your Lordship to hear of our news in these parts. It is thought that all merchants' goods that were stayed in Flanders shall be shortly delivered, and they restored to their old liberties, and that the Emperor will not break with the King's Highness in any wise.* The diet that was looked for at Worms is likely to take no effect, for the Emperor will not be present there. The Imperials of Alemain come not, but they require money for the defence of the Turk's invasion into Hungary ; and they that should pay,

* Henry, three years before had entered into a league with the Emperor Charles V. against the King of France, considered as an ally to the Turk. The war now subsisting between England and France was commenced in consequence of this treaty.

being loath to part with it, says that he will not invade this year. Thus, having nothing to trouble your Lordship more with, I bid you most heartily farewell. From the King's palace at Westminster, the 24th of March, 1545.

If it may please your Lordship to make my hearty commendations unto Sir Ralph Sadler ye shall do me pleasure.

Your Lordship's assured,

T. SEYMOUR.*

To my very good Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury, the King's Highness's Lieutenant-General in the North, give this.

* Sir Thomas Seymour, Knight, brother to the Protector, and fourth son of Sir John Seymour, of Wolf Hall in Wiltshire, by Margaret, daughter of Sir Henry Wentworth, of Nettlested in Suffolk. He had served with merit against the French, in the wars of this reign, and was appointed Master of the Ordnance for life, not long before the date of this letter. Upon Edward's accession he was constituted Lord High Admiral, and created Baron Seymour of Sudley in Gloucestershire. After having made an ineffectual proposal of marriage to the Princess Mary, he wedded Queen Katherine Par, so soon after the King's death that had she immediately proved pregnant, the issue might with some probability have been ascribed to her former husband. This lady, however, dying on the 5th of September, 1548, childless (or, as some have said, leaving an infant daughter who not long survived her,) Lord Seymour made his addresses to the Princess Elizabeth with so much warmth that the Council found it necessary to interfere, and the depositions of several persons, taken on that occasion, are preserved in Haynes's Cecil papers, very little to the credit of our virgin Queen. Every other path to power being now obstructed, he attempted to forward his ambitious views by the overthrow of his brother's authority ; and laboured to gain the young King to his interest with so much effect, that the Protector, for his own security, was at last obliged to concur in his impeachment. He was beheaded on the 20th of March, 1548-9, after a very impartial trial in parliament for high treason.

No. XLVIII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. A. fol. 421.)

SIR RALPH SADLER
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.*

Ir may like your good Lordship to understand that this day, as I was on horseback towards Alnwick, I received your Lordship's letters, with such copies of the King's Majesty's letters and the Council's as it pleased you to send me with the same ; which I have considered. And, to write unto your Lordship my poor mind ; first, touching the description of the army, if your Lordship shall find by the books of the musters that the number of 30,000 cannot be levied within your Lordship's commission, harnessed and appointed for the wars, it shall be good, I think, to advertise the same to the King's Majesty, to the intent the lack thereof may be supplied the better, in time elsewhere ; but I trust, that within all the shires in your Lordship's commission, you will be able to describe an army of 30,000 good men ; and for the furniture thereof it shall be well done, in my poor opinion, that your Lordship address forthwith your special letters to

* This letter, unluckily, without a perfect date, is placed here as it stands among the originals, and history affords no assistance by which it may be appropriated to any particular year. It cannot allude to the Earl of Hertford's invasion of Scotland in 1544, for his army consisted of not more than half the number mentioned here, and two thirds of them were infantry drafted from the troops intended for the French expedition ; nor can we refer it to the great armament of 1547 ; for, had it been written after Edward's accession, the Protector's name would have been mentioned instead of the King's. It may be presumed then that Henry's miserable state of health in the last year of his reign, co-operating perhaps with other obstacles, prevented the execution of a grand enterprize against the Scots, for which these powerful levies were intended.

all such noblemen and gentlemen, within the limits of your authority, to be in readiness with such numbers as your Lordship shall describe and appoint unto them, by the 12th of May, to set forwards upon an hour's warning when they shall be called ; and also general proclamations to be sent and proclaimed in all the shires and counties within your commission, that all men put themselves in order and readiness, on horseback and on foot, to come forwards well harnessed and appointed for the wars, upon an hour's warning, when they shall be called by proclamation or otherwise ; which, in my poor mind, will cause such as want harness to make provision for the same.

Secondly, for the victualling of such an army ; how the same will be furnished and provided in these north parts God knows, for I see no likelihood thereof. But like as your Lordship has written to Mr. Stanhope in that part, so I think it were good that you wrote to the town of Newcastle, to know of them what provision they could make out of other parts of the realm. As for Berwick, and the Wardens here, neither have any store or furniture at all to speak of, nor yet can make any manner of provision, as far as I see ; and as the wardens, with whom I have conferred in that behalf, do say themselves, if the King's Majesty's provision come not there soon they know not what shift to make ; so that there is no hope of any manner of provision to be made, either by this town of Berwick, or the Wardens, which look daily for the relief of the King's Majesty's provi-

sion. Wherefore I think good that your Lordship should advertise the King's Majesty, in time, what difficulty it is to make any provision of grain and victuals in these parts for the furniture of such an army, to the intent it may be the better provided for, and supplied out of other parts.

This is all I can say to these matters for this present; and having once done the business I came for to the borders, I shall make the more haste to your Lordship, to confer and devise with you upon the premises; which I doubt not your Lordship, with the advice of my Lords of York and Durham, can and will consider and resolve well enough without me, though my good will and desire is to be with you to do my duty in that behalf.

Finally; at my arrival here I received this letter herein enclosed from the Lord of Brunstone, which it may please your Lordship to command Gregory to decypher; and if there be any matter in the same worthy advertisement, it may also please you to dispatch it accordingly. And thus Almighty God preserve your good Lordship in long life, health, and honour. From Berwick, the 16th day of April.

Your Lordship's to command,

RALPH SADLEIR.*

*To the right honourable and my very good Lord
the Earl of Shrewsbury, the King's Majesty's
Lieutenant-General in these North parts.*

* Sir Ralph Sadleir, Knight, is said to have been of a respectable gentleman's family in Middlesex, but no record beyond him-

self appears in the Herald's College, whence as he had a grant of arms, 34 Hen. VIII. we may presume that he was the founder of his family. He was born at Hackney, and bred up by Cromwell, from whose service he was taken by Henry, who in 1539 appointed him one of his Secretaries, and a Privy Councillor; and, for his great sagacity and fidelity, intrusted him with the principal management of Scottish affairs, which at that time required the utmost exertion of those qualities. The King left him £200 and constituted him one of the guardians to Edward VI., at whose accession we find him in the office of Keeper of the Wardrobe. He was treasurer of the army soon after sent into Scotland, where he was created a Knight Banneret for his valour at the battle of Musselborough, in which he is said to have taken the Scottish standard with his own hands; and in support of that tradition, an ensign staff of uncommon height is still to be seen affixed to his tomb. He lived in privacy during the next reign, but was sworn of the Privy Council to Elizabeth, and appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in 1568. He died March 30, 1587, aged 80, and is buried at Standon in Hertfordshire, under a handsome monument, with an epitaph, giving a very just and concise account of his life and unimpeached public character.

Sir Ralph Sadleir married a laundress in Cromwell's family, whose first husband, Matthew Barre, a tradesman of London, was then living; and by her had three sons and five daughters. Sir Thomas, the eldest, left a son, who died without issue, and a daughter, Gertrude, who married Sir Walter Aston, K.B., to whose son Walter, first Lord Aston of Scotland, Sir Ralph's property descended, and remained in that family till the death of James, the last Lord of the elder line; when his two daughters, who became his heirs, sold the estate in Hertfordshire with its noble old mansion, Standon Lordship, which was built by Sir Ralph, to Mr. Plumer, formerly a member for that county. Thomas Clifford, Esq., of Tixall, son and heir of T. C. by Barbara, second daughter and co-heir of James, Lord Aston above mentioned, had in his possession (1806) the Act of Parliament for making legitimate the children of Sir Ralph Sadleir, by Ellen his wife, who is therein stated to have been at that time the wife of Matthew Barre. It is dated Dec. 9, 1554.

EDWARD VI.

No. I.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. B. fol. 9. 1547.)

THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY
TO THE COMMISSIONERS FOR THE MUSTERS IN
THE COUNTIES WITHIN HIS COMMISSION.

APFTER my hearty commendations, these shall be to signify unto you that it hath pleased the King's Majesty, forasmuch as his most dear uncle, and mighty Prince, the Duke of Somerset's Grace Governor of his Majesty's most royal person, Lord Protector of all his Majesty's realms, dominions, and subjects, Lieutenant General of all his Majesty's armies both by sea and land, his said Grace being attendant of his Majesty's royal person, and otherwise busied about other most weighty affairs; his said Majesty hath, with the advice of my said Lord's Grace, and the assent of the rest of his Majesty's most honourable Council, appointed and authorised me, most unworthy, to be my said Lord's Grace's Lieutenant of the counties of York, Lancaster, Chester, Derby, Salop, Stafford, and Nottingham.

Considering the great preparations that made in foreign parts for the defence of his jesty's ancient rebels the Scots, and the anno: of his Majesty's most loving subjects, unless defence of the same should be with all dili: foreseen, I therefore desire and heartily pray and in the King's Majesty's and my said I Grace's name straitly charge and command that forthwith, upon the receipt hereof, you j order 200 of the numbers already mustered in his Majesty's county of Salop, of good and footmen, well furnished with harness and wea over and besides such numbers as hath bee: cially heretofore written for, to be put in read within that shire ; and that you take such as the said 200 footmen fail not, with good chosen captains for every hundred, to be at castle the last of this instant month, or the second of the next, at the farthest ; where shall not only receive money for their con: conduct, but also be fully advertised of his M: ty's pleasure touching their further service. in the appointment of these 200 men, my Lord's Grace's pleasure is, with the advice & said, that you give good order that there m: as many arquebussiers as you may conveni get, and that they may be chosen of the lively and meet men to serve; amongst wh: shall be well done that such idle men and o: as the country may best spare be chosen out sent with the rest. And, furthermore, th: have especial regard that the main force o

said county, with all the demi-lances and light-horsemen, be in readiness at all times, according to such commandment as you have received already from the King's Majesty, or his most honourable Council, without failing of the premises, as you tender the King's Majesty, the wealth of this his realm, and will avoid the danger of not doing the same at your uttermost perils. From Sheffield, the 19th day of May.

For Derbyshire ; Postscripta. I send you herewith a bill, as I have thought meet, where the 200 men shall be levied, and who shall be captains of the same ; praying you, and also in the King's Majesty's name, to see it accomplished.

For Salop and Staffordshire ; Postscripta. I send you here-inclosed a copy of the book sent me from my Lord Protector's Grace, of the names of such as are appointed to furnish demi-lances and light horsemen, which I pray you (and in the King's Majesty's name straitly charge and command you whose names are mentioned in the indorsement of these my letters, or two of you at least) to see that all the said demi-lances and light-horse are mustered for you with all possible diligence, so that they may set forwards upon the next warning, without delay, accordingly.

To my very loving friends, the Sheriff of the county of Salop ; to Sir George Blount, Sir Richard Mansoaring, Knights ; Thomas Leghe, Esquire ; and all others the King's Majesty's Commissioners last appointed for the musters within the said county, and to every of them.

No. II.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. B. fol. 3.)

THE DUKE OF SOMERSET
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

My Lord,

AFTER our right hearty commendations to Lordship ; calling to our remembrance how rous and willing you shewed yourself at our being with you to go forwards with us, and do King's Majesty's service with your person in present journey into Scotland ; and consider since our arrival here, besides your known pensities thereunto, of what moment it shoul to have a nobleman such as your Lordship wit as well to have the charge of some one of wards of footmen, as also to see, for experie the order of things which may, God willing worthy of memory ; therefore, albeit we were before to have accepted your offer, thinkir should have put you to a trouble and disquiet that we would ye should forbear where the gre need pressed not, yet at this present we thought good to require you, that if so be you put yourself in order (we pass not with how s a number of your own servants) to be with Berwick by the 6th day of September* next, that it shall not be too great a discommodity you to be there by that day with us, you sha do, which we shall take very thankfully. Bi

* The battle of Musselborough, or Pinkey, in which the lost 10,000 men, happened on the 10th.

case you cannot have your carriage, or other necessaries to come thither so shortly, which should be impeachment of your setting forth, we require you in either case to advertise us, by your letter, of that ye may do herein conveniently. And thus we bid your Lordship right heartily well to fare. From Newcastle, the 18th of August, 1547, at noon.

Postscripta. If so be ye cannot conveniently be there by that time, we would ye should not make forward, but tarry still at home.

Your Lordship's assured friend,
E. SOMERSET.

To our very good Lord, the Earl of Shrewsbury, besides Doncaster. Haste, post, haste for thy life, for thy life. Post of Doncaster, see this letter delivered according to the direction, for thy life. Haste.

No. III.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. B. fol. 15. 1547.)

SIR RALPH SADLEIR
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

PLEASE it your Lordship to understand that presently arrived here these letters, closed in this packet, from the South, and, according to such commission as your Lordship gave me at your departure, I opened the letter addressed to your Lordship from my Lord Protector's Grace and the Council. The devices contained in the same for the fortification at White-Castle, or Aberlady,* I

* A large village on the coast, with convenient harbour' about three miles N. W. of Haddington.

refer to your Lordship, not doubting but, upon the view of the places, your Lordship, with the rest of the Council there, will resolve the best ; and if I could give any counsel therein that might tend to the advancement of the King's Majesty's affairs, and your honour, it were my duty to do it. Surely it is most expedient that some fortification be made, either at Aberlady, if the ground will serve, or in some other place about the Pethes, or between the Pethes and Haddington ; or else I see not, in my poor opinion, how we can keep Haddington, unless we are able to bear the charge to victual it twice a year with an army ; which your Lordship can consider by your wisdom, and will do, I doubt not, as much as may be done conveniently.

We have much ado here to get the victualler out of the haven, but I have made them believe that some of them shall be hanged if they go not out at this tide, which is at this instant, and I have already made them draw to the haven's mouth ; so that at this tide they shall depart to the sea, and as the wind will serve, shall repair to Aberlady, where I trust they shall be some time to-morrow. Those which were at Holy-island are already passed by here this morning towards Aberlady.

As yet your carts are not arrived here ; but the garrison of this town is gone this night passed to meet them at the Pethes ; and when they come, Mr. Stonehouse has promised me to despatch them hence again to your Lordship with speed, wherein all diligence possible shall be used. And

hns Almighty God send your Lordship health,
with much honour.

At Berwick, the 23rd of August, with the rude
hand of your Lordship's most assuredly to com
mand,

R. SADLEIR.

*To the right honourable and my very
good Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury,
Lieutenant - General of the Army
in Scotland.*

No. IV.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. B., fol. 23. 1547.)

SIR RALPH SADLEIR
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

It may please your Lordship to understand, that upon receipt of your letters by Mr. Fisher, both he and I conferred with Mr. Stonehouse upon the same, who answereth that more than he alleged by his letters last addressed unto your Lordship he is not able to perform; that is to say, to victual 1000 or 4000 men to fortify at the Pethes, and also the navy, with the supply of men more now appointed unto the same; so that if your Lordship will now have the whole army to remain eight or ten days longer, he says plainly that he is not able to furnish the same unless the navy be disappointed; and all for lack of millage, for he has grain enough, and drink sufficient, with also eefs enough, but for lack of millage, he is not able to furnish you with bread, except, as is aforesaid, you disappoint the navy; and this is his plain and resolute answer, so that your Lordship has

now to consider, with the rest of the Council there, whether is better for the King's Majesty's service to leave the enterprise undone which my Lord Clinton has to do, or to leave the Pethes unfortified. And, to say my foolish opinion first, I think the fortification at the Pethes is not to be omitted for the other ; which nevertheless I refer to your Lordship's wisdom, and the rest of the Council with you, who can better weigh and consider the importance of the thing than I can. And yet such a furniture of victuals may come out of the South, as before these eight or ten days be expired my Lord Clinton may chance to have also a convenient furniture for the execution of his enterprise. I think also if your Lordship write to the Provost and Burgesses of Jedworth, and to Lawder, to furnish you with such victuals as they can, some relief may come that way ; and I, for my part, will write to Newcastle, and do what I can to make the country here to resort to your camp with such victuals as they be able to furnish.

Finally, if your Lordship proceed with this enterprise at the Pethes, Mr. Stonehouse says that if your Lordship send to-morrow a hundred carts he trusts to see them laden out of hand, and will make ready more as fast as he can, but presently he can furnish no more ; and also I will send you, with the same, 200 beefs, if it please you to have them. And thus Almighty God preserve your Lordship in long life and health, with increase of honour.

At Berwick, the 2nd of September, at ten o'clock at night.

Your Lordship's most assuredly to command,
 'R. SADLEIR.

*To the right honourable and my very good Lord
 the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lieutenant-General
 of the King's Majesty's Army in Scotland.
 In haste; haste, post, haste.*

No. V.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. B. fol. 35.)

JAMES CLARKE
 TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

PLEASETH it your Lordship to be advertised that since Mr. Sutton's departure I have travelled with the Auditors of the Court of the Augmentation * for the allowance of your Lordship's fees, who have promised me that your Lordship shall have as large allowance as ever you had, and at this time they made a stay, forasmuch as they knew not what to allow; they look to have sight of your Lordship's letters patents, but I doubt not it shall not need, for they have the old register where they are enrolled.

Sir Walter Mildmay, and Kellway, another who is of my Lord Protector's council, or in commission for the sale of all chantries, and other

* The Court of Augmentation, so called from the augmentation of the royal revenue by the suppression of religious houses, was constituted in 1536. It was composed of a Chancellor, a Treasurer, a Surveyor, ten Auditors, and several inferior officers, and was invested with discretionary powers in all matters relative to the estates of those societies.

hospitals and colleges.* They sit at Mr. Mildmay's every day, and such importunate heaving for houses in London has not the like been seen : 20 years' and 30 years' purchase is nothing, almost = such a stir is among the citizens in purchasing one another's house over his head that well is he that pricks highest. Undoubtedly the sale of the city will be a great thing as hath been heard of. As for news, the report is the French galleys are ready to sail into Scotland. On Monday last the Lord Grey rode post northward in all haste, who shall make an exploit on the borders shortly the like has not been done. The King's Majesty removes on Wednesday next to Greenwich.

From London, this 27th of March, 1548.

JA. CLARKE.

To my Lord.

No. VI.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. B. fol. 31.)

Indorsed, "Victuals at Haddingtoun."†

WHEAT, 87 quarters.

Mistlin, or Rye, 86 quarters.

* These foundations were possessed of great wealth, derived from the pious pretence of saying masses for departed souls. The chantries were generally annexed to churches, and we are told that there were no less than forty-seven within St. Paul's cathedral: each of these had a separate, generally landed, estate. They were given to the King by the Parliament, in December, 1547, though not without much opposition, as well from protestants as papists; and thus went the last remnant of that immense mass of property which had been wrested from the Romish clergy in the course of the last fifteen years.

† This paper is erroneously dated on the back, by a modern hand, "1544." Haddingtoun was surprised by the English, under William Lord Grey of Wilton, in April, 1548. This is a return of the victuals found there.

Malt, 234 quarters.
Barley, 200 quarters.
Hops, 3160 lb.
Pease, 130.
Oats, 100 quarters.
White Pease, 6 quarters.
Claret Wine, 68 tons.
Sack, 12 buts.
Malmsey, 3 buts.
Oil, 30 gallons.
Vinegar, 12 barrels.
Oxen alive, 197.
Bacon, 215 fitches.
Butter, 96 barrels.
Cheese, 198 weys 3 quarters.
Beer, 33 tons 1 puncheon.
Beef, packed, 16,536 pieces.
Meal, 52,000 lb. in measure.

No. VII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. B. fol. 51.)

THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK

TO THE SHERIFF AND JUSTICES OF THE PEACE
OF DERBYSHIRE.

AFTER right hearty commendation. Whereas, for certain weighty considerations, the King's Majesty lately signified his Highness's pleasure unto you, by his Majesty's commission and otherwise, for the taking of general musters within the county of Derby; and that, without any respect of persons, you should appoint and choose out the

ablest and meetest men to serve within the said county ; giving order also that all such as by the statutes and laws of this realm are bound to have harness and weapons should provide the same with all diligence, so as the number of able men appointed to be levied of that county, furnished with harness and weapons as appertains, might be in such readiness as upon one hour's warning they might set forth to such place as should be prescribed unto them, as by the effect of the said commission and letters more fully may appear. Like as his Majesty doubts not but that, according to your bounden duties and the importance of the thing, you have had special care in the execution of the premises accordingly, so, considering that the time of the year draws now on for employment of their service, I am therefore commanded by my Lord Protector's Grace soon to call upon you for the same, requiring you to appoint of yourselves, and other gentlemen of the shire, such as are most meet for that purpose, to every hundred of the said able men one captain, to govern and lead the same for the better ordering of them. And, forasmuch as among a number of like authority there might arise some confusion unless order were taken in that behalf, the King's Majesty has specially appointed my very good Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury to have the chief leading and rule of all the said captains, with their men, within the said county ; praying you not only to be ready to attend upon him, and aid and assist him, when occasion shall require and he shall

emand the same, for the better advancement of service, but also, further, to credit him in all such things as he shall, on his Highness's behalf, declare unto you to be executed accordingly.

And (considering how much it shall conduce, not only to the furniture of victuals, and choice of the meetest men to serve, but also to the good governance of the common people, and otherwise to the advancement of his Majesty's affairs, to have such men appointed captains and rulers of the rest as have reputation amongst them) I am commanded to require you to take order that all those which were commissioners for taking of the musters within that shire may go forwards in person, if any occasion shall require to have the main force of the same to be advanced; which as I could ye should in that case diligently consider, and see executed accordingly, so in all other cases, sending forth any particular numbers from the same, I also require and charge you to have good respect to the appointing of able men, and to meet captains for the same. Thus right heartily fare you well.

From York, the 24th of May, 1548.

Your loving friend,

ROBERT EBOR.*

*to my loving friends the Sheriff and
Justices of Peace in the County of
Derby.*

* Robert Holgate, a native of Lincolnshire, and originally a monk of the Priory of St. Gilbert of Sempringham, in that county. He was driven from a small benefice which he had obtained in the neighbourhood of his monastery, by the tyranny of a Sir

No. VIII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. B. fol. 73.)

THE BISHOP OF DURHAM
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

Right honourable, and my singular good Lord,
PLEASE it your Lordship to understand that,
where of late your letters came to my Lord Nevill
to raise the power of the Bishopric, and to come
forwards himself with speed before, leaving other
behind to bring the country ; I trust my said Lord
Nevill, taking the horsemen with him of our
country, will be with your Lordship before the
coming of the footmen of our country ; whereof
this bearer, Sir George Conyers, is captain of all my
tenants, with whom I am bound to send them to

Francis Aycough, a powerful man in his parish, and came to London, where, having abjured the Pope's supremacy, he easily procured a recommendation to Henry VIII. who appointed him one of his chaplains. In 1537 he became Bishop of Llandaff and in 1544 was translated to York, having, as is said, previously bargained to give up to the Crown several valuable estates belonging to the latter see. He was soon after constituted Lord President of the North, and held that high office till the end of the reign. His defection from popery, and the active part he has taken in the reformation, made him one of the first objects of Mary's fury : he was deprived, and thrown into prison on a formal charge of having lived in adultery, from which stroke of penalitice the general tradition of his dissolute manners seems to have arisen, though the accusation really meant no more than that he has taken a wife, contrary to his vow at his admission into a religious order.

This prelate married Barbara, daughter of Roger Wentworth of Elmsall in the West Riding of Yorkshire, Esq., and died in 1555, at Hemsworth, where he founded a hospital for ten poor men and as many women, and other public charities. He left considerable property in that neighbourhood, which seems to have been inherited by his brother's children, a part of whose posterity migrated into Hertfordshire and Essex, and possessed certain estates in the latter county till 1752, when it ended in a female. Holgate had a grant of Arms from William Fellowe, Norroy, 1539.—(R 21, 179.)

he field, and there to be at the commandment of the Lord Lieutenant for the time being, both he and they. And if it shall stand with your Lordship's pleasure that he continue their captain, as he hath always been, bringing them to the field as Sheriff, I trust he will do his duty in well serving the King with them, in going with your good Lordship, or with whom you shall command. And thus Almighty Jesu preserve your good Lordship, to his pleasure and your's, and send you victory against all the King's enemies, with the increase of much honour.

From Aukland, the 21st day of July, 1548.

Your Lordship's humble orator at commandment,
CUTH. DURHAM.*

*To the right honourable and his singular
good Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury,
Lord Lieutenant in the North Parts.*

* Cuthbert Tunstall, successively Master of the Rolls, Prebendary of York, Dean of Sarum, Bishop of London, and Lord Privy Seal; translated to Durham in 1530. He was born at Hackford, in Richmondshire, about 1476, a bastard of one of the ancient family of Tunstall, appeared at Court at an early time of life, and served the late King in several important embassies. Camden informs us that he was "an able negotiator, and a most exquisite master of all critical learning," and most writers concur in giving him an amiable character. He was deprived by Edward VI. under the pretence of his having opposed the Reformation, but in fact for the purpose of investing the ambitious Earl of Warwick with his palatine dignity, which was thus separated for a few months from the see of Durham. Mary restored him immediately after her accession, and appointed him one of her ecclesiastical commissioners, in which office, so odious in that reign, he distinguished himself by his mildness and humanity. He was again deprived, by Elizabeth, in 1559, and died at Lambeth, Nov. 18, in the same year, in the house of Doctor, afterwards Archbishop, Parker. Hayward, and others, upon Foxe's authority, are guilty of an error in placing this Bishop's first deprivation in 1547: it happened in 1552.

No. IX.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. B. fol. 107.)

SIR THOMAS GARGRAVE
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

My bounden duty remembered to your good Lordship, desiring the same not to be offended for my departing without my taking leave of your Lordship as my bounden duty was. I sought your Lordship at the Court, and at my Lord Protector's, but my chance was not to find; and, because I would keep company homeward with Mr. Fairfax and Mr. Babthorpe I departed the more speedily. Desiring your Lordship, if there be any thing wherein I may do your Lordship service, that I may have knowledge thereof, and, to my power, I shall be as ready thereunto as any your Lordship's servant. I shall speak both with Mr. Solicitor and the Escheator for the office of Mountney's lands, and shall ascertain your Lordship of the proceedings therein. Mr. Babthorpe would heartily desire your Lordship to have a restraint for saving of the game in Wressell and Newsam parks.

My Lord perceiving at the present that Sir Charles Fairfax, one of the Council in the North (in Mr. Savill's place, who had no fee) doth labour to my Lord Protector's Grace to have a 100 marks fee by year, I have therefore thought good to inform your Lordship of the state and fees of that Council at the present, that ye may, if it seem good unto your Lordship inform my Lord Protector's

ice thereof. And for that purpose I have de-
red the same, in a paper here enclosed ; where-
it may please your good Lordship to perceive
t, after the death of Sir Thomas Tempest, I was
ced in his room, and should have had the whole
of 100 marks ; but my Lord of Southampton,
n being Lord Chancellor, said that if I, being
Knight, should have 100 marks fee, that the
t of the Council would be offended therewith,
less they should have the like fees ; and, there-
on, I had only allowed for my fee £ 50, and lost
: residue, which was £ 16. 13. 4. by the year ;
d, seeing it hath pleased you to prefer me to
t degree, and that, at the establishment of that
uncil 100 marks was appointed to be the fee of
ery Knight that was learned, for that the bur-
o much resteth upon them, if your Lordship
ll see just occasion, I shall most humbly beseech
ur good Lordship to move my Lord Protector's
ace therein for me ; and, if my diligence, power,
good will and service in the King's affairs may
serve it, I shall apply them thereunto to the
ermost. And because I thought your Lordship
ould be present at the communication and ap-
intment of Mr. Fairfax's fee, I thought good to
en this my suit unto your Lordship ; to the
ent that, upon the occasion thereof, if it shall so
nd with your Lordship's pleasure, and that con-
niently, you may be so much my good Lord
rein to move my Lord Protector's Grace to be
good Lord, and to grant me the rest of Mr.
mpest's fee (after whose death I was placed in

his room) and if your Lordship think I may do any good therein I would resort to London the next term, and bring with me the certificate of the relief.

Thus, my very good Lord, I am most bold to trouble your good Lordship, being never able to deserve, in part, your Lordship's former goodness towards me; but, to my power, your Lordship shall have my continual prayer, and faithful service, as of my bounden duty appertains. I humbly take my leave of your good Lordship beseeching our Lord God long to continue your Lordship in health, with increase of honour. If your Lordship come down into the country for the assessment of the relief, I shall then wait upon your Lordship at Sheffield.

At Ware, the 17th of March 1548.

Your good Lordship's bounden of duty,

THOMAS GARGRAVE. 

*To the right honourable and his singular
good Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury, one
of the King's Majesty's Privy Council.*

* Sir Thomas Gargrave, son and heir of Thomas Gargrave, of Wakefield, by Elizabeth, daughter of William Levett, of Norman-ton, and Hutton Levett, likewise in Yorkshire. He was knighted in Scotland, by the Earl of Warwick, in 1547, probably at the request of the Earl of Shrewsbury to whom he here acknowledges his obligation for that honour. He obtained very extensive grants of abbey lands in this reign, particularly one of the Priory of Nostell, in Yorkshire, which he made his principal residence; and in the years 1565 and 1569 served the office of High Sheriff of that county, which he had represented in several parliaments. He was Speaker of the House of Commons in the first held by Queen Elizabeth. At what time he became President of the Council which is the subject of the letter before us is uncertain.

No. X.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. B. fol. 115.)

LORDS OF THE COUNCIL
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

FTER our most hearty commendations unto your good Lordship. Where in sundry places of this the King's Majesty's realm,* great numbers of the

it that he once held that high office appears by a portrait of him, in the possession of Levett Hanson, of Normanton, Esq., inscribed "Thomas Gargrave, Miles, 1570, aet. 75 — Servire Deo agnare est—President of the Council in the north parts, Treasurer of the Warres, a Counsellor of State to King Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Queen Elizabeth." The appellation "Counsellor of State" means here merely a person whose public situation sometimes rendered his advice necessary, for Sir Thomas was not worn of the Privy Council till very late in life. He married, first, Anne, daughter of William Cotton, of Oxenheath, in Kent, by whom he had Sir Cotton Gargrave, Knight, his only child; secondly, Jane, daughter of Roger Appleton, of Dartford, relict of Sir John Wentworth, of North Elmsall, in Yorkshire; and dying March 28, 1759, was buried at Wragby in the latter county. His great property continued not long in his family; for Thomas, eldest son of Sir Cotton, leaving an only daughter, who married Richard Berry, Physician to Oliver Cromwell, and a man of some interest with the leading persons of his party, the Gargraves being royalists, Berry contrived to make himself master of their fortune, and the whole family sunk into obscurity.

* At the time of the fierce and general resistance against inclosures (*see following letters*). Soon after the date of this letter he good Protector appointed Commissioners, against the sense of the Council, to hear the complaints of the poor; but the tumults rising to a dangerous height, forces were sent into several counties under experienced commanders, and the insurgents were dispersed. The Protector, however, in fact subdued them by one of those acts of mildness which distinguished his system of government; for he granted them a general amnesty in September following, by his separate authority, the Council still refusing to join in any lenient measure; and by thus espousing the interests of the commons, in opposition to the great landlords, accelerated his own ruin.

common people be assembled together, contrary to the common peace and quiet of the realm, and contrary to the bounden duty of allegiance; understanding by credible report, that your neighbours, his Majesty's most loving and obedient subjects of the counties of Derby, Salop, Nottingham, and other places near about you, the said tumults and assemblies notwithstanding, do remain in his Majesty's good peace and quiet order, as beseems obedient subjects; like as the hearing thereof is much to his Highness's good contention, so have we thought good to pray you cause it to be divulged, and openly known among them, either by way of open proclamation, or such other good means as you shall think best that his Majesty takes this their quiet behaviour in most gracious and thankful part. And, albeit they have not yet made any suit for redress of anything wherein they are perchance aggrieved, ye shall all we be humble suitors to his Majesty, that all his Highness's said subjects within those shires shall not only be partakers of all such things as have been, or shall be, granted to any of them that are in any part of the realm in this unlawful manner assembled, but also be well assured that, continuing quiet, as hitherto they have done, they shall find his Majesty their good and gracious Lord, and us, the Lord Protector and the rest of the Council, always ready to do them, and every of them, the reasonable pleasure we may. And thus we bid your good Lordship most heartily

farewell! From Westminster, the 19th of July, 1549.

Your good Lordship's assured loving friends,

E. SOMERSET.	WILLM. PETRES.
T. CANT.	W. SAINT JOHN.
J. WARWICK.	W. NORTH.*
R. RYSCHE, Cancel.	

*To our very good Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury,
one of the King's Majesty's Privy Council.
Haste post, haste, haste.*

No. XI.

(Howard Papers.)

LORDS OF THE COUNCIL
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

AFTER our most hearty commendations unto your good Lordship you shall understand that the rebels about Norwich, in Norfolk, remaining yet still in their obstinate rebellion, have not only now of late refused the King's Majesty's pardon, but also made themselves a party against our very good Lord the Marquis of Northampton, his Highness's Lieutenant there, and in a skirmish have slain the Lord Sheffield, Sir John Cleere, and another gentleman, named Cornwallis. And, albeit there were

* William Par, now Marquis of Northampton (*see No. XXVIII.*
¶ the late reign.)

a far greater number of the said rebels slain at the same time, yet, considering that by this beginning they seem to have conceived a courage, like as we have given order here for their chastisement in such sort as we trust they shall be a terrible example to all others of like sort, yet, to be in a surety in all events, we have thought good to pray your Lordship to take undelayed order, with as many able horsemen and footmen within the King's Majesty's commission, which you shall receive herewith, as may be conveniently furnished; so as they, with such Captains as you shall think mete, may be in full readiness, upon one hour's warning, to march under your Lordship, either towards the King's Majesty or otherwise, as by our next letters shall be signified unto you. And so we bid your Lordship most heartily farewell. From Westminster, the 3rd of August, 1549.

Your Lordship's assured loving friends,

E. SOMERSET.

THOMS. SOUTHAMPTON.

W. SAINT JOHN.

WILLM. PETRES.

JOHN BAKER.

*To our very good Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury.
Haste post, haste for thy life, life. Post of
Doncaster, see this letter delivered.*

No. XII.

(Talbot Papers, vol. A. fol. 415. 1549.)

THE EARL OF HUNTINGDON
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

My very good Lord,

After my hearty commendations. I am right glad to hear of your good Lordship's amendment. And, where you will me to come unto your Lordship to kill a stag or two, so it is now that I have such business for the King's Majesty upon a stir of divers confederators that had intended a rebellion within the counties of Rutland and Leicester, for which rebellion there have already divers in the county of Rutland been condemned, and have suffered for the same, and this next week there shall divers other in the county of Leicester be arraigned before me and the King's Majesty's Justices of Assize, according to his Majesty's laws; after which matter done, I intend, God willing, within four days after, to come to your Lordship if no other weightier matter for the King's Majesty do not let me. And thus I heartily take my leave of your good Lordship, with my most hearty commendations to my good Lady, praying God to send your Lordship as good health as I would unto myself. From Ashby, the 12th of September.

F. HUNTINGDON.*

To the right honourable my very good Lord, the Earl of Shrewsbury's good Lordship.

* Francis Hastings, second Earl of Huntingdon of his family, and K.G., died June 20, 1561.

No. XIII.

(Talbot Papers, vol. B. fol. 17. 1516.)

THE DUKE OF SOMERSET
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

AFTER our very hearty commendations to your good Lordship the same we most earnestly pray and require, that as ye tender the good preservation of the King's Majesty's royal person, and our earnest and hearty acquainted friendship, to come hither to the King ; and for the rest we pray your Lordship to give firm credit to this bearer, our servant Francis Poole. And so we bid your Lordship most heartily well to fare. From Hampton Court, the 6th of October,* 1549.

Your Lordship's very assured and loving friend,

E. SOMERSET.

To our very good Lord, the Earl of Shrewsbury.

* The Protector surrendered himself to the Council, and was sent to the Tower on the 12th, having thus vainly solicited the support of the nobility.

No. XIV.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. G. fol. 538.)

JUSTICES OF DURHAM
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

PLEASETH your good Lordship to understand, John Roland, one of that sort of people calling themselves Egyptians, did before us accuse Baptist Fawe, Amy Fawe, and George Fawe, Egyptians, that they had counterfeited the King's Majesty's great seal ; whereupon we caused the above named Baptist, Amy, and George, to be apprehended by the officers, who, amongst other things, did find one writing with a great seal, much like to the King's Majesty's great seal, which we, both by the writing, and also by the seal, do suppose to be counterfeit and feigned ; the which seal we do send to your Lordship herewith by post, for trial of the same. Signifying also to your Lordship that we have examined the said Baptist, Amy, and George, upon the said matter ; who does affirm and say with great oaths and execrations, that they ever did see the said seal before this time, and that they did not counterfeit it ; and that the said John Roland is their mortal enemy, and hath often accused the said Baptist before this, and is rich in his debt, as appears by their writings ready to be shewed, for which money, the said John doth falsely all he can against them, and, as they suppose, the above named John Roland, or one of his accomplices, have put the counterfeit seal amongst their writings ; with such like sayings. Wherefore we have committed all the above named Egyptians to the gaol of Durham, to such

time as we do know your Lordship's pleasure in the premises. And thus Almighty God preserve your good Lordship in much honor. At Durham, this 19th of January, 1549.

Your Lordship's assured,

GEORGE CONYERS.

ROBERT HYNDMERS.

CUTHBERT CONYERS.

GERARD SALVEYN.

*To the right honorable and our singular good
Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Pre-
sident of the King's Majesty's Council in
the North.*

No. XV.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. B. fol. 205.)

LORDS OF THE COUNCIL
TO THE EARL SHREWSBURY.

AFTER our right hearty commendations to your good Lordship. Forasmuch as Monsieur le Marquis de Meyne,* being a right worthy and noble personage, and brother to the Queen of Scots, doth shortly pass the north parts into Scotland, to visit his said sister the Queen; We therefore have thought it good, by these, to pray you to see the said Marquess well and honourably conducted, lodged, and entertained, as to the degree of so worthy a personage doth appertain, within the limits of your Lordship's offices; and that by means of your letters to the Earl of Westmorland,

* Francis, afterwards Duke of Guise. See the account of his reception in Edward the Sixth's Journal, published in Burnet's History of the Reformation.

Others, as you shall think best, between you
 & the borders, his entertainment may be ac-
 cordingly; wherein you shall both do the King
 or Master right good service, and also win your-
 self therein much honour. And thus we bid your
 lordship most heartily well to fare. From
 Greenwich, this 2nd of May, Anno 1550.

Your loving friends,

J. BEDFORD.

R. SADLEIR.

TH. WENTWORTH. *

H. DORSET. ‡

W. NORTH.

T. DARCY. §

W. HERBERT. †

*the right honourable and our very good Lord
 the Earl of Shrewsbury, President of the
 King's Majesty's Council in the North parts.
 Haste, for thy life, post, haste; for thy life,
 post, haste, haste; for thy life, haste, haste,
 haste, for thy life, post, haste.*

* Thomas, Lord Wentworth, and Lord Chamberlain, of the
 family of the Earls of Strafford. He died on the 3rd of March
 owing.

† Sir William Herbert, K.G. and Master of the Horse;
 annexed to the dignities of Lord Herbert, and Earl of Pembroke,
 October next after the date of this letter. He died March 17,
 1570.

‡ Henry Grey, third Marquis of Dorset of his family, created
 Earl of Suffolk in the following year. He was a nobleman of
 high abilities and inoffensive character, but the conspicuous situ-
 ation of his unfortunate daughter, the Lady Jane, introduces his
 name into our histories. He attempted to support her pretensions
 to the late King's rebellion, but, after a very faint struggle, was taken
 prisoner, and beheaded Feb. 23, 1553—4.

§ Thomas Lord Darcy, son of Roger Darcy, Esquire, of the
 family of Henry VII. by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Henry Went-
 worth. History furnishes us with nothing very memorable in
 this nobleman's life. He was Master of the Ordnance in the
 Tower of London, and a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to
 the late King; Vice-Chamberlain and Captain of the Guard to

No. XVI.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. B. fol. 216.)

THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY

TO _____

AFTER right hearty commendations. Whereas in your letters of the 16th of this instant, which I received the 25th of the same, you write that you have had advertisement from the King's Majesty's Privy Council that they are informed by me the King's Majesty's palace* at York is likely to be defaced, as well through taking down the lead there as otherwise ; whereat ye do not a little marvel that those to whom ye have made a warrant only for taking down the south aisle of the church, the dorter, frater, and the two old garners,

Edward VI. who gave him the Order of the Garter, and created him Baron Darcy of Chiche. He married Elizabeth, daughter of John de Vere, fifteenth Earl of Oxford, by whom he had issue John, who succeeded him, and married a daughter of Lord Chancellor Rich, and two other sons ; and two daughters ; Thomasine, married to Richard Southwell of Woodrising in Norfolk, and Constance, to Edmund Pyrton, of Bentley, in Essex. John died about the year 1560, and his grandson Thomas, leaving no male issue, the Barony, together with the Earldom of Rivers, and other titles to which he had been advanced, went to the family of Savage by virtue of a special entail.

* The dissolved abbey of St. Mary in York, which Henry VIII. kept in his own hands after the Reformation, and fitted up as a royal palace. It was used towards the end of his reign, and for several years after, for the meetings of the Council in the North, the President whereof generally resided in it. James I. and Charles I. repaired it, and added some new buildings ; but the Crown, in the present century, having granted a great part of it to the county for the purpose of erecting an hospital, the principal apartments were pulled down, and the remains are now converted into a boarding-school, and a few habitations for inferior people.

eing, as ye were informed, of long time not safe
nd ruinous, and the lead thereof daily pilfered
way,) would take upon them to meddle with any
part of the King's Majesty's palace. I assure you
there has been such spoils and defacings made in
divers parts of his Highness's said palace that it
would grieve any man to see it, except his High-
ness's pleasure were that all should be pulled
down; and yet his Majesty, in respect of that
which thereof might have been made, is like to have
but small commodity, as far as I can perceive.

And, where I am informed that order was given
unto you from my Lords of the Council for the stay
hereof before the 13th of this instant; upon the
4th of the same the chief window of the King's
Majesty's own chamber was defaced, which, as it
declared unto me, was done by Humphrey Coll-
iche, one of your surveyors. Furthermore, when,
according to your request in your said letters, I
communed with your surveyors, and demanded of
them why they had so done, Laykin answered, that
then he declared unto you that the taking down of
the south aisle should be an impairment to the
King's Majesty's palace, you said unto him that as
all the King's palace as all the rest should be
taken down. And now, as special friend, I have
at you word what is done here, which you may
see as shall appertain; and thus I bid you right
heartily farewell.

From York, the of April, 1551.

No. XVII.

(Cecil Papers. June 20, 1551.)

LORDS OF THE COUNCIL

TO —————

AFTER our most hearty commendations unto your good Lordship ; since our last letters we have had no other advertisements than were contained in our former letters. Touching other matters, upon Sunday last we had before us Sir Thomas Holcroft, Sir John Thynne, and Whalley : Whalley has surrendered his office of receivership, and stands bound to stand to such further order as shall be taken with him by the King's Majesty's Council ; Holcroft has surrendered his office of receivership of the Duchy, and stands further bounden as Whalley ; Thynne has surrendered his lease which he had of the Savoy, his office of packership which he had in London, and stands also further bounden as the other two.

Upon Monday we had the Lord Paget again before us, at the house of me the Lord Chancellor ; where we declared unto him that his fine is taxed at £8000, to be paid in such sort and at such days as shall be more fully agreed upon at the next meeting of my Lords after Michaelmas ; and it was also further told him that he must forego all stewardships, keeping of parks, or any other such as he hath of the Duchy ; that he shall pay all such sums of money as he shall be found to owe to the King's Majesty ; and that within one month, or six weeks at the furthest, he shall repair to his

houses in Staffordshire, without returning to these parts until such time as he shall be licensed by the King's Majesty. He heard these orders opened unto him, and very humbly offered himself, well pleased to do whatsoever should be required of him ; marry, for this fine, it was such as, considering his debts, and estate otherwise, it was impossible for him to overcome ; nevertheless he would patiently suffer and bear whatsoever should please the King's Majesty and the Lords of his Highness's Council to lay upon him, and would live in hope of mercy. And, touching his going into Staffordshire, he made very lamentable and humble suit, with the effusion of many tears, for mitigation of this part of the order. The causes alleged by him were these : First, his own disease of the fistula, which so much troubles him that, as he said, he rots as he goes, and in those parts he shall want such advice and remedies for the same as he has and may have here ; his wife also, whose sickness he reckons his own, is so troubled with a continual stich in her side, and a sickness in the liver, as, if she want her accustomed advice, she shall not be able to live. Besides this, he has no manner of provision in those parts, nor is stored of any money towards the making of any provision. And, last of all, he said his house of Burton is all plucked down, saving two chambers ; and his house of Bewdesert, though it be pretty is yet so small as after one month it will wax unsavoury for him to continue in, with his wife, children, and family, and then he shall have no place to remove unto

but to some inn. These considerations he set out at length, and with such lamentation and weeping as much moved us (if your Lordship shall so think good) to be suitors to his Majesty to mitigate this part, so as it be withal provided he does not come nigh his Majesty's presence till he shall be thereunto licensed ; and we are the more moved hereunto because the King's Majesty begins unto his progress, and shall for a good time be far from the said Lord Paget's houses in those parts nevertheless ; and in this matter we pray your Lordship to signify unto us your good advice, whereupon we mind to proceed further. We had also before us Sir John Arundel, and have set him at liberty, taking a recognizance of him to absent himself from the Court, and to remain in London, or within two or three miles of London, and also to stand to such further order as shall be taken with him by the Council.*

* The persons mentioned in the foregoing part of this letter were charged with having embezzled the King's revenues, but the secret motive to their prosecution was their firm attachment to the fallen Protector. Lord Paget, who had been Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, was accused of having applied to his own use great sums which had arisen from wood sales, and fines for leases, within that department. He had been formally divested of the ensigns of the Garter on the 22nd of April preceding this date, and was now mulcted in £ 6000. Sir Thomas Holcroft, his receiver, who hath been already spoken of, was sentenced to pay a heavy fine ; as was Whalley, who had been receiver for the Crown in Yorkshire, and had rendered himself particularly odious to the ruling party, by intriguing with some of the nobility for the restoration of the late Duke of Somerset to the Protectorate. Sir John Thynn's offence is no where mentioned ; but as it appears here that he had a lease of the Savoy, which belongs to the Duchy, he was probably suspected of having obtained it by a fraudulent bargain with Lord Paget. He was lineal ancestor to the Marquis of Bath ; built the fine house at Longleat ; and served in parliament for Wiltshire in the reign of Elizabeth.

We had forgotten to advertise you in our last letters that the French Ambassador, at his late being with us, told us that the French Queen, Regent now of France in the absence of the King, had written unto him that she had had many complaints of great, and very great, quantities of wine carried by our merchants out of France into Flanders, in such sort as it was thought good by her Council to make an order from henceforth none should be offered to be carried out of France except the merchant put in caution to sell the same in England, without carrying any of it to any of the Emperor's dominions ; and yet, in respect of the unity, and for the special good affection she bears to the continuance of the same, she forbears to confirm this order until she had caused thus much to be first opened here. We answered, for the time, that we had good cause to give most hearty thanks to her Grace, for that it pleased her to stay his order, and to will the same to be signified either ; and, for our parts, we had at no time suffered any wines, being once within the realm, to be wrought out again, and had and would give the like order again ; and we could hardly believe that any such quantity was carried by our merchants, namely by Scots it might be, who did of that trade much more than we : And touching the principal matter, we would consider it, and after make him a more full answer, which, as we mind, shall be to this effect ; that there have of late times been often wars between them and the Emperor, and yet in none of those wars have our merchants been im-

peached of their free traffic ; and, therefore, seeing the amity now so many ways confirmed, we trusted they should be suffered to continue their accustomed liberty, in such and like manner as they had been accustomed in the time of other wars, without being otherwise bounden than has been used in times past ; and yet our meaning is not that they shall be suffered to use any such excessive carrying of wines as may offend them ; and for that purpose we will give strait charge to them, in such sort as we trust they shall not have the like cause of complaint hereafter.

Mons. de Couriers* is gone, and in his company Mr. Chamberlain. Yesternight the King's Majesty was advertised from the French Ambassador that the town of Danvilliars is now in the French King's possession, without any loss of men, or assault ; for the Imperials, seeing the town so beaten that of all parts it was easy to be assaulted, abandoned the same, and the French entered quietly, and found therein a very great quantity of victuals, great pieces of artillery, and other munitions. They have also prisoned him who had the chief charge of the town. These news, which the Ambassadors sent of by the French King's own hand, are also come hither from Antwerp, although in some part altered, for there it was said the town was gotten by assault as before, but, in

* The French Ambassador before mentioned. He is called by Edward VI. in his Journal, " De Couriers ;" and was sent hither to settle certain matters relative to trade, and to require protection for such French ships as might chance to enter our havens during their war with the Emperor.

the end much amazes
the Imperials of the Low Countries, as appears by
letters from Tho. Gresham.

This day has been before us in the Star Chamber Beaumont; * and, albeit at the beginning he began somewhat to vary from his former confession and submission in a point or two, yet afterwards he confessed the whole and every part of the ill laid against him, which contains so many foul matters as we think have seldom appeared in any one man. He is bound in £30,000, to pay such mses, and to stand to such order, as shall be appointed, and is again returned to the Fleet. Thus, having no further matter worthy advertisement, we pray God send your Lordship good success in your journey. From Westminster, the of June.

No. XVIII.

(Cecil Papers.)

Indorsed, "From the King's Majesty to the Lord Deputy † of Ireland, by Wood, 26th November, 1551."

Right trusty and well-beloved,
We greet you well. Although we have in our common letter to you and our Council there, an-

* John Beaumont, late Master of the Rolls. He had been imprisoned on the 9th of February preceding, for forging a deed of certain estates from the late Duke of Suffolk to Lady Powis, and was now accused of having defrauded the Crown to the amount of £ 20,000 in affairs of wardship. The King's Journal, which mentions his submission, fixes the date of this letter, which was probably written to the Duke of Northumberland, then with the army in the North.

† Sir James Croft, who succeeded Sir Anthony St. Leger in the Deputyship, May 23 preceding this date.

swered such things as were required for the affairs of our realm, yet has your singular good service so commended you to our favour, that we thought it meet by this our private letter to give you a testimony of the same towards you, and if you shall proceed and apply yourself to continue your industry, wisdom, and painfulness we shall not fail but so consider you as the same shall be a demonstration of our good mind towards you. Understanding, further, that your substance of riches and manner of entertainment is less, and yet your charges much more, than any who have served us as Deputies there, we are pleased to give you in reward, to your relief, the sum of £1000; and further will that you shall have in your wages, of your household servants, 40 able horsemen, at 12*d.* per diem, and 60 footmen, at 6*d.* per diem, the same entertainment to begin at this next Christmas; praying you in some other numbers to diminish the same our charges, as you may conveniently. And for the allowance of the same we have written to our Under-Treasurer there, for the time being, our letter, to be sufficient warrant and discharge for the payment and allowance thereof. And, likewise we are pleased to receive you into the service of our Privy Chamber, and mean to accept you as a gentleman thereof, not doubting but your good service and worthiness shall answer our expectations.

And likewise upon the good commendable service done by Sir Thomas Cusack, Knight, our Chancellor there, we are pleased that he shall

e, during the time of his service in the office Chancellor there, the augmentation of his fee to ther sum of £1000 by the year more than he , to be paid likewise as his other fee is paid, n Christmas next following ; for the which pur e we have written likewise to our said Under- asurer our letters for the warrant. And further the augmentation of his livelihood, and so, con uently, for the comfort of him in our service, are pleased he our said Chancellor shall have, of our gift, the fee simple of the site of the Ab of Cleonard, with the appurtenances, at the t of £1. 16. 4. ; and certain tithes of the Vicar of Kylryne, and of the Parsonage of Kyllagha, Clonedaly, and Tyena, at the rent of £15. 6. 4. ; the which purpose we will that you, by warrant, se the same gift to pass under our great seal re. And we doubt not but you our Deputy, so also our said Chancellor, will endeavour rselves the best you may to alleviate our rges in some other part, that by these consider ons, and such like, we be not overcharged in t realm without evident commodity be an ered therefore.

Given under our signet, at our Palace of West nster, the of November, 1551, and in the th year of our reign.

No. XIX.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. A. fol. 58.)

LORD WHARTON
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

Right Honourable,

PLEASE it your Lordship to be advertised that I wrote a letter unto the Earl of Angus, and sent the same to him by Richie Grame, against the entry of the Laird of Fentree, taken prisoner at Slemme Moss, for whose entrance the said Earl stands bounden; and albeit that I have sundry times, at the request of his takers, called upon him to enter the said Laird, yet I cannot have that master discharged, according to the Earl's bond and promise. And, touching the same, he has written a letter unto me by the said Richie, which letter I send unto your Lordship herein enclosed; and for the credence he refers to Richie Grame. He shews me that the said Earl delivered unto him a bill of the names of certain noblemen and gentlemen within that realm, all whom are promised to be of the Dowager's party against the Governor; which bill I send also unto your Lordship herewith. The Earl desired Richie Grame to let me see the bill, as he says.

Richie Grame shews me, further, that upon Tuesday last, the Earl of Angus and the Lord Fleming had much secret conference together; where the Lord Fleming required the Earl of Angus to send unto me that the said Lord Fleming would serve to the best he could for the advance-

of the King's Majesty's affairs in that realm, rding to his former promise ; and, therewith, ed the Earl of Angus to be mean unto me his lands and friends might be forborne by the oitants of Eskdale, Ewsdale, and Wacopdale, chmen, from doing of displeasure, which he , and I trust shall have cause, for I intend tactise that by them he may be annoyed this er, as they may. Richie Grame shews me that upon Wednesday last there was a meet- between the Earls of Angus, Glencairn, and ilis, and the Sheriff of Ayre ; all which then ed to stand with the Dowager against the Go- or, as heretofore they have promised. He further, that the Governor intends to keep tiament in Edinburgh, which shall begin the day of Noveinber ; and, in like manner, the ager, with those noblemen promised unto her, ds to keep a parliament in Stirling, seven after the others. The Governor lies at Edin- h, and George Douglas at Dalkeith : there many arguments of displeasure between them. thus the Holy Trinity have your Lordship more in his blessed preservation. At Carlisle, 7th of October.*

Your Lordship's humbly at commandment,

THOMAS WHARTON.

This letter appears to have been written in 1552, when the Dowager was attempting to force the Regency from the of Chatelherault, which he afterwards voluntarily resigned

No. XX.

(Cecil Papers.)

SIR RICHARD MORYSIN
TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Please it your good Lordships,

WHEREAS Mr. Chamberlain does at large write unto your Honours, both what the Emperor demands of these his Low Countries, and also what time the burgesses have to make answer to his Majesty's demands, I, till I be better acquainted with the men and matters of this country, will learn what I can, and in the mean season hearken how things go that are farther off, and yet not so far off but those there and these here must either quail one after another, or be had in consideration at once. For the meeting of the great Princes this Shrovetide at Duke Maurice's * house, called Dresden, the appointment was not kept; because, as some men think, Duke Maurice had, of himself, framed such matter as now did more need to be set forward than to be sitten upon. It is said the Palsgrave comes hither, sent by all the Electors, Princes, and States of Germany, to the Emperor; and, though he be not yet on his way, men say

* Maurice Duke of Saxony, raised to the Electorate by Charles V. who had deposed his kinsman John Frederick. He had occasionally sided with almost every party in the present troubles, and in the beginning of the year 1551 had concluded a league with Henry II. of France, and the malecontent Princes of the Empire, so unexpectedly that Charles had not the least suspicion of it till he saw the Saxon troops in motion. He was killed at the battle of Sieverhausen, in the Duchy of Lunenburgh, five months after the date of this letter.

ome one of his Chancellors has already sent his *rand* * to the *Queen*. + The Princes, and States, o mean to *offer* by him of *men and money* sufficient to *recover* out of the *French King's hands* *Metz*, nd any thing else that pertaineth the Empire ; ut this their *fair offer* is upon such a condition, as men think the *Emperor* will much rather *want* hem than ever *consent* to the other. They will nd plenty of *men and money*, they say, so that he *Emperor* be content to make *Maximilian coad-itor* of the Empire with *him*. The *Queen* has time to devise the *answer*, which knows the *errand* so ong before it is done. Men doubt whether she rill *utter so unpleasant* a matter to the *Emperor* r no, till he be stronger, and better able to bear . Some who do hear of these news, and do take hem for true, imagine the *practise* proceeds from *Duke Maurice*; who must, of necessity, set up *Maximilian*, seeing the *Prince of Spain* ; and he re never like to be friends. There are few so fit to frame such a matter, few who would be gladder to travail in it, none that had more need it be rought to pass, than *Duke Maurice*. The Pals-

* The words printed in Italics are written in cyphers.

† Mary, third sister to Charles V., and widow of Lewis II., king of Hungary and Bohemia. She was Governess of the Netherlands from 1530 till her brother's resignation of the Empire in 1555, and died in Spain, Oct. 18, 1558, aged 53. A Princess of masculine spirit and understanding, to whose management the most important affairs had been committed for several years.

‡ Afterwards Philip II. of Spain. — Maximilian, mentioned immediately before, was eldest son of Ferdinand, King of the Romans, brother and successor to Charles. He was at this time King of Bohemia; became Emperor in 1564; and died in 1576.

grave, if he come, never came on message that he had *less thanks for* ; and, therefore, I can hardly believe *he can be the bringer of it*. It was a great *cross to the Emperor* that for no his intreaty, labour, and travail, the Electors and States would grant that *his son Philip* should be made *Coadjutor* ; but this is like to be a far bigger *grief* unto him ; that he must *live to see* all *Germany*, by their own accord, freely and unsought for, to offer that to *his nephew* which by no means they could be brought either to give or to sell to *Philip his son*. If the suit be now meant to be made, it is made in such time as the *Emperor can as evil say nay to it* as it must needs be against *his will to grant it*.

I do send your Honours a copy of letter which Hubertus, the Palsgrave's secretary, sent to me ; by it your Lordships may perceive there is *more a brewing* than *he dare commit to letters*. It is said that Maximilian doth come hither, and that the Emperor means to make him his General in Alle maine. It was supposed that March. Albert *

* Albert, Margrave of Brandenburgh, first Duke of Prussia, and Master of the Teutonic order. We have a most unfavourable account of his conduct during these wars, in which he engaged with the spirit of a marauder, and subsisted his army on the pillage of the provinces through which he passed. In April, this year, a confederacy of the most powerful Princes of Germany was formed against him, headed by the Elector of Saxony, as a counterpoise against whose growing power the Emperor had hitherto secretly supported him ; but the death of the Elector, in their first engagement, having rendered Albert an useless instrument, he was abandoned by Charles, stripped of his dominions by the confederates, and driven into France, where he died, March 20, 1568, aged 76.

hould have married with the Duchess of Lorrain,* and so have been in D'Alva's place. The Palsgrave would fain it were so, and so would the Marches, and it was thought *the Emperor would* help it forward. The Palsgrave would hope then to come by his part of Denmark, if Marches Albert had married with his wife's sister ; for, besides that a slender title is able to set such an one on work, he should, by being married there, and, after, by coming by the Duchy of Prussia after his uncle, be made able easily to trouble Denmark. The Marches doth much desire it, for that the Duke of Holstein has been, and is, a great suitor to her, who was so nigh marrying Marches Albert's sister that he covenants were drawn, and put to writing, who, upon the sight of the Duchess of Lorrain, brake off. The Palsgrave had rather any did marry with her than the Duke of Holstein, for that his brother keeps his wife's father in prison. *The Emperor* might by his way trouble Denmark by *his* deputy, who had never leisure to trouble it himself. It may be the Queen has willed the Emperor, upon this, to send for Maximilian, and to make him his General, and will devise some way that the Palsgrave shall not come hither till Maximilian be here before him ; nowbeit, if there be a *practice* in it, Maximilian will rather stand to be *Coadjutor* than hastily accept to become General. Men think that they will excuse the matter that they do not make the suit

* Christina, daughter of Christian II., the deposed King of Denmark, and widow of Francis Duke of Lorrain. Dorothy, her sister, was married to Frederick II., Elector Palatine.

for the *King of Romans*, because he has so much to do in *Hungary* that he has no time to attend unto *Germany*; besides, the *King of Romans* bears more respect to his *brother, the Emperor*, than Maximilian does to his *uncle*.

The Bishops are so in fear of the Marches, and so out with the *Emperor* for suffering him to handle them as he does, that they will easily consent to any thing that may be their safety, how-much-soever it greet the *Emperor*. The Palsgrave's land, the most of it, lies ready for the French King, if he keep Mentz. The Bishops of Magonse, Triers, and Colon,* are to be destroyed, in case there be not some man both *able, for his health and power*, and willing, for his good will, to see them defended from the French King. The Emperor, as they say, shall have great plenty of money: the clergy gave unto him this last year half their revenues, and this year he shall have the other half; both these years do amount to twelve hundred thousand crowns. That that he shall have of these Low Countries doth come to two millions of gold and a half, as men make the reckoning. John Carlo says there come, without fail, two millions of gold out of Spain. D'Arras, Mons. di Prato, and many others, have sent the most of their plate to the mint here; the Emperor allowing them 36 stivers for every ounce, where it is commonly sold for 31. They shall be paid, within a year, of such money as this country doth pay the Emperor, he

* Mentz (*Moguntia*), Triers, and Cologne.

inding that money for their repayment. By the ast of March, horsemen and footmen are appointd to be in readiness, but our fear is the Frenchmen will be ready by the last day of this month. t is said there are above 3000 horses not far from he borders. The Emperor would have left his Spaniards in the Bishop of Liege country, to lefend it against the Frenchmen, but the peasants would rather abide the fear of Frenchmen to come han to be troubled with Spaniards out of hand ; yea it is said the Emperor has won their hearts very much that he was content not to leave them here.

For matters in Italy,* the Imperials do already speak against the Viceroy of Naples for taking

* A slight account of such of the Imperial affairs in Italy at this period as are here alluded to, may perhaps render the following part of the letter more intelligible. The Emperor's principal agents in that country were Don Diego de Mendoza, his Ambassador at Rome, and Don Pedro de Toledo, Viceroy of Naples. The former had lately been sent to Siena, at the head of a body of Spanish troops, to protect the establishment of a new constitution formed by the people in opposition to the nobility ; but Charles, under whose directions the Sienese had acted in this weighty undertaking, secretly proposed to make himself master of the republic. Mendoza, therefore, began by building a citadel, under the insidious pretence of defending the infant commonwealth ; and had nearly completed it, when the citizens, exasperated by the exactions of the soldiery, and the imprudent haughtiness of their commander, and having probably received some intelligence of the Emperor's design, rose suddenly upon their new inmates, and, with the assistance of some mercenaries sent by the French Ambassador at Rome, drove them out of Siena, and placed the Republic under the guardianship of the King of France. Don Pedro de Toledo, whom we find here endeavouring to recover Siena to his master, had in the mean time rendered himself odious to the Neapolitans by the severity of his government ; and the Prince of Salerno, one of their most powerful nobles, who had lately fled to the Court of France, persuaded Henry not only to invade Naples,

this enterprise in hand. They say it is done besides the Emperor's consent at the beginning ; for, when the Viceroy did move his Majesty thereof, the Emperor's answer was, he had spent so much treasure as, till more came, he could spend no more ; the Viceroy taking it thus, that if he could find money, the Emperor would be well pleased that he did set upon the enterprise. And thus, making four or five hundred thousand crowns, with mind to get again that his great enemy Don Dieg — had lost, he, without farther commission, went — about it as the Emperor would not afterwards forbade it. The Viceroy has sought the glory of his family, leaving, in his absence, his one son Governor of Naples, and made Don Garzias, his other son, General of the enterprise ; he lying at Florence, with the Duke, where he does but let time go as it comes, without doing any great thing hitherto. It is thought if the Prince of Salern do come towards Italy, his coming shall be the Viceroy's excuse, and his retire be taken for honourable. The Duke of Florence * does what he can to seem neutral ; lending to the Imperials twelve —

but also to procure the powerful assistance of a Turkish fleet in the Mediterranean. The Sultan accordingly equipped an hundred and fifty ships, which, having ravaged the coast of Calabria, appeared in the bay of Naples at the appointed time ; but the French fleet which was to have joined them being prevented, after waiting three weeks, they returned to Constantinople.

* Cosmo I. He was the only male heir of the Medicean family, had been raised from obscurity to the Dukedom by Charles, and had lately contrived to render himself independent of that Monarch, by lending him money upon usurious mortgages of dominion. He afterwards obtained Siena from Philip II., by a bar-

pieces, and not only suffering money to
Ferrara to the Cardinal of Ferrara, into
but did send a convoy to see it safely
unto him. The Bishop of Rome, the
of Ferrara, and the Duke of Florence too,
be glad Siena might be *still free*; neither
the *Emperor, nor subject to the French*
for both Florence and Rome do think
besieged as long as Siena is in *either*
the two Princes' hands. Two days since,
led il Signor Junta, Master of the Posts to
hop of Rome is come to the Emperor; the
and he do seek audience, but as yet can-
heard. This Junta has a brother with the
sador of Florence, who was with me a little
supper this night, and told me his brother
e to know of the Emperor whether it may
him that the Bishop do send two Legates,
e to his Majesty, the other to the King of
, to procure a peace between them. He
e the Cardinal of Rimini is appointed to
hither, if the Emperor mind to have any
ither for this purpose. Men say already if
operor had won Metz there had come no
ut the Legates had been here themselves
time. Before that this Master of the Posts
ve his dispatch here, and can be at home
the war will wax good and warm. Men

he same kind; and was created Grand Duke of Tuscany
ope in 1569, being the first who bore that title. He died
aged 55, highly esteemed for his wisdom, learning, and
m of the fine arts in a degree not common in that age. .

imagine the best part of the war for this summer will be brought into Italy, where men reckon it will last till want of money on both sides part this fray.

The Turk, as letters from Constantinople to Venice do report, has prepared as great a navy as any he sent out these years past; and gives commandment to his General that the gallies shall go where the Prince of Salerne shall appoint them, and do but what he will have them do. If the Viceroy get not to Naples before Salerne comes towards it, the Prince is likelier to turn that state upside down than the Viceroy to find it in good order. At his going to Siena he cut off the head of il Marchese di Castel Vetere, and put il Signor Cæsare Caraffe in prison, whom it is said he hath since caused to be beheaded. It is thought the Turk, in person, will abroad into the wars this summer, for that all such have warning to be in readiness which are not wont to stir but when the Turk goes to the field himself. The short letter concerning the state of Transylvania came from the Venetian Ambassador with the King of the Romans. Men suppose the Turk will either come thither, or meet the Sophy, who this winter did besiege a town of the Turks called Argis. The King of Poland sent a messenger to the Turk not long since, to signify unto him that, if it would stand with his pleasure, he meant to send Ambassadors unto his Highness to renew such conditions of amity and peace as were between him and the King his father. The gentleman that went was

rought to kiss the Turk's hand, which is a favour hewed but to a few. He is returned with gifts, and the King provides a great embassy to the Turk.

And, while the French King practises in all places to abase the house of Austria, the Emperor hath three of his chief Councillors *against three* almost as great as they ; the Duke of Alva, Don Pedro de Toledo, and the Duke of Florence, are in a *great amity*; Ferdinand Gonzaga,* d'Arras, and Don Diego, are in a *league*, utterly bent to *mislike*, and to *charge*, by hook or by crook, any thing done, or to be done, *by the three first*. The secret talk is that *d'Arras is not* in such *favour* as he has been, but whether it be so, or do rise by grudge of such as fain would have it so, I know not. The Queen is thought a good indifferent woman, *scarce* finding in all the *six* whom she may think *the Emperor's good servant*; but the Emperor, because d'Alva goes into Spain, and must do things there for him all ways that he can, does *countenance* the *Duke*, and with some show of *displeasure to d'Arras*. The Viceroy, the Duke of Florence, and d' Alva, say, *d'Arras, for not shewing their letters, and Don Diego, for his pride, were the loss of Siena; and Ferrante the*

* Ferdinand Gonzaga, of the Ducal house of Mantua, Duke of Guastalla, &c., and one of the first military characters in these wars. He acquired great fame in Charles's campaigns in Africa and Hungary, and had lately been employed in a vain attempt to annex Parma to the territory of Milan, where he was Governor. He became at last Viceroy of Sicily, and died at Brussels, Nov. 15, 1557.

cause of all the *wars and troubles*, at this time, by *his* burning of houses besides Parma, when the matter was as good as *taken* up ; and they on the *other side* say, if either the Duke of Florence or the Viceroy had sent men to Don Diego when he did require them, Siena had been still at the Emperor's devotion. It may be they shall *lose the Emperor* more than *ten Sienas are worth*, if they continue their *jarring*, as it is likely they will. Some do not stick to say Ferdinand Gonzaga did set upon Alva, and so did turn to St. Damies, because he would not send the 4000 Germans to help the Viceroy to achieve his enterprise of Siena.

The Prince of Sulmona, General Captain in Italy of all the Emperor's horsemen, is dead ; and Mons. du Ruelp is here very sick, no less cumbered with thought, as it is said, than troubled with his sickness. Mons. di Prat could *not bear* that he had done *well at Heding* ; more glad that *du Ruelp's son* was at the *losing of it* than that his *father* had won it. The Emperor would give to il Seignor Francisco di Este the charge that Sulmona had, but where *good service* is in hazard, either of the first *threes*, or of the second *threes evil* report ever findeth ways to excuse the and friends, to make the *Emperor* to take it *well*. There was a talk that the Venetians had made the Duke of Ferrare their General Captain, but it is nothing so. It were a dishonour for the Duke to become their servant, and no safety for the Venetians to have their power in so great a Prince's hands ; besides, the

Duke hath too much of his own, carefully to look
to other folk's things. The Duke of Urbine is
made, they say, Gonfaloniere of the Church, and
the Bishop's nephew shall marry with the Duke's
daughter, and be made Duke of Camarine. The
French King's liberality, in giving two month's
pay to those that served in Mentz more than the
time of their being there came to, hath moved the
Emperor to give to Marches Han's horsemen
month's pay more than he promised them; so
that being hired for four months, and not serving
past three of them, they shall have wages for five
months. Men suppose his Majesty will trust more
to the Germans hereafter *than either to Italian or
Spaniard*, and therefore doth this to get him the
name of a good payer; it is time, for he may else
hance to need of men a good many, and find but
few. This Court hath the Venetians in some
envy, for that the Frenchmen did take up
soldiers for Siena out of their town called Grema.
And thus, at this time troubling your Lordship no
longer, most humbly I take my leave of your
Honors. From Brussels, the 20th* of Febru-
ary, 1553.

Your Lordships', most bound so to be,

RICHARD MORYSIN.†

* Morysin's and Chamberlayne's letters are dated according to
the new style.

† Sir Richard Morysin, Knight, a minister of great prudence,
warning, and integrity. Lloyd and Sir Richard Baker differ
about this gentleman's native county, and probably both are

No. XXI.

(Cecil Papers.)

SIR THOMAS CHAMBERLAYNE
TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

PLEASE your most honourable Lordships to be advertised how that since the Emperor's arrival here hath occurred no matter of moment worthy to be certified, every man attending to hear wherefore the estates of these Low Countries were called; and on Tuesday last the same were assembled

wrong: the former says that he was born in Essex, the latter in Oxfordshire: be this as it may, the visitations of Hertfordshire inform us that he was the son of Thomas Morysin of that county (descended from a Yorkshire family), by a daughter of Thomas Merry of Hatfield. He was educated at Eton, and in the University of Cambridge, whence he went with the reputation of an excellent Greek and Latin scholar, to the inns of court, where he became a proficient in the common and civil laws. He was sent in the late reign, at an early time of life, Ambassador to the Emperor Charles V. and had acquired by long habit so thorough a knowledge of the various factions which distracted the Empire, that Edward's Ministers found it necessary to continue him in that court, much against his own inclination. He returned not long before that Prince's death, and was employed in building a superb mansion at Cashiobury, in Hertfordshire, a manor which had been granted to him by Henry VIII. when Mary's violent measures against the Protestants compelled him to quit England, and after residing a short time in Italy, he returned to Strasburg, and died there, March 17, 1556.

Sir Richard Morysin married Bridget, daughter of John Lord Hussey, and left a son and three daughters: Sir Charles, who settled at Cashiobury; Elizabeth, married, first, to William Norreys, son and heir to Henry Lord Norreys, secondly to Henry Clinton, Earl of Lincoln; Mary, to Bartholomew Hale, of Chesterfield in Derbyshire; and Jane, to Edward Lord Russel, eldest son of the Earl of Bedford, and afterwards, to Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton. The family of Morysin ended in an heiress, Mary, great grand-daughter of Sir Richard, who married Arthur Lord Capel of Hadham, an ancestor of the present Earl of Essex.

1 Court, where the Emperor and his sister, the
Lady Regent, were present. As I do learn, his
Majesty, first of all, gave them all hearty thanks
for the good towardness that he had always found
in them to assist him in the defence of themselves
and those countries, and so told them that he had
no less confidence that at this time they would be
so willing to give him aid in their defence against
such an enemy as the French King is, who forced
him to these wars when his Majesty least looked
for the same; consequently, it is said that his
Majesty's sister made a like demonstration, and,
as it were, a declaration how obedient and willing
objects she had found them in his Majesty's ab-
sence; exhorting them so to continue.

Then, as it is told me, the President of the
State made a certain rehearsal of the great
charges the Emperor had been at in these Low
countries, giving to understand that such sums as
had been levied were already consumed by the wars;
reporting the same unto the Treasurer, then pre-
sent, who affirmed the same, and, therewithal, the
proportion for the purpose at this time, being put
in writing, was by some of the Secretaries read
into the States there gathered, which, as I can
learn, required for aid 6000 guilders of Brabant
only, 9000 of Flanders, and 3000 of Holland, and
in the other countries after like rate, whereupon
the Commissioners of each country are departed
home, for to make demonstration to the people,
to see how the same may be levied, and so to
make answer. The States of Brabant do remain

here, setting about the levying of their part, which declares that the grant is made of the demand. The Spirituality, as I understand, must give the half of their revenues for this year, as they did the last; so that there is great likelihood that by this means, and by great loans made his Majesty of late in Antwerp, he shall want no money to make the French King a good war this summer to come, which the people do wish to be better than that is past hath proved.

I am informed that knowledge is come hither of certain conclusions lately taken by the Princes of the empire, at a diet by them holden; and amongst all other, it is said that the Count Palatine is appointed to come unto the Emperor for Commissary touching the same conclusions; and to require the Emperor, in the name of the rest, to be content (considering his present weakness, and lack of power to follow the wars himself) to allow the King of Bohemia for his coadjutor in the empire; and, upon that condition, they will be content to take the wars wholly upon them that way, and seek for to make the French King restore all that he hath wrongfully usurped since the beginning of these wars, belonging to the Empire; meaning that his Majesty should but defend these Low Countries, and keep the French King occupied this way, if he think good; and for this purpose it is said that the Count Palatine is looked for to be here very shortly.

A bruit goeth that the Emperor, by some intelligence out of Italy, is in great jealousy of the

Venetians, who, as I am informed, have lately made the Duke of Ferrara their General ; whereof I doubt not but Mr. Morysin, by his conferences, is able to certify your Lordships more than I can. The Emperor demands of these Estates payment of the one half at the end of this next month, and the rest within four months after, for which is great care taken, because there is so little money stirring. Somewhat like to part of the aforeswitten, here is now a bruit spread that a son of the King of the Romans doth come shortly hitherwards. Which is the sum of our present occurrences ; and, therefore, I will leave to be molestious unto your most honorable Lordships, beseeching Almighty God long to continue the same in health and honour. From Brussels, the 20th of February, 1553.

Yer Lordships' most bounden at commandment,

T. CHAMBERLAYNE. *

* Sir Thomas Chamberlayne, of Prestbury, in Gloucestershire, knight : who, having served the late King in several foreign negotiations, seemis to have been now appoyated to succeed Sir Edward Morysin as Ambassador-Leger at the Court of Brussels. In 1559—60 he was deputed to Spain by Elizabeth in the same capacity, but was revoked in October, 1561, after which time we have no intelligence of his public life. He descended from a family of considerable antiquity, several respectable branches hereof had been long settled in the countis of Derby, Oxford, & Gloucester, and was the son of William Chamberlayne, by Elizabeth, daughter of —— Fleming, of Dartmouth. He was twice married : first to Ann Vendersell, styled Lady of Sart, in Fabant, who brought him no issue ; secondly, to Joan, daughter of —— Ludington, by whom he had John, afterwards knighted ; ——, who settled at Maugersbury ; and Theophila, married to —— Hughes, M.D. His third wife was Anne, daughter of William Carkyke of London, and widow of William Pierson of

No. XXII.

(Cecil Papers.)

SIR RICHARD MORYSIN TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Please it your good Lordships,
I, ALL these seven days, still looking when ~~the~~ Queen would send for me to declare unto me his Majesty's answer to my message, it was this day 10 of the clock ere I could hear any thing from her Grace ; and yet d'Arras, meeting with my Secretary four days agone, said the Queen would send for me, either that same day, or on the morrow, at the farthest, as he thought. I thought the business their's ; and therefore did imagine it were best to give them such leisure to the doing thereof as they themselves should think most convenient for it. I knew some lets, and I did think there might be a good many more than I could know of ; amongst many this was one ; the Emperor's Ambassador Resident there sent over his Secretary on Wednesday last to this Court, with whom perhaps the Queen had to do, and then report must be made to the Emperor, which done, the matters might perhaps require some longer debating. Perhaps, also, the monk, Abbate di San Giovanni, had appointed to come again by a certain day, if he could speed that he went for ; or else Bassamp was looked for. *I disliked their delays, but yet I thought it better to*

that city, by whom he had one son, Thomas, from whom descended the Chamberlaynes of Oddington, in Gloucestershire. Sir Thomas died at his manor-house of Prestbury, Aug. 20, 1580, and was buried in the church of that parish.

suffer them to do as they would, than to press them more than I should. I cannot learn why the Ambassador sent his Secretary, less I can guess it of myself.

At my coming to the Queen, I found Mons. d' Arras with her Grace ; neither gentleman usher, to keep the door after I was in, nor any gentlewoman in the chamber all the while I was there.

The Queen told me Mons. d' Arras had borne her in hand I could hardly understand French, and she knew my French could not be worse than her Italian was ; and therefore she had uttered the Emperor's answer to d' Arras, who should tell it unto me. I said Mons. d' Arras had told her Grace very truly of me, and, albeit I had heard of others that her Grace could speak Italian very well, yet it should be as her Majesty would ; I could wish no better interpreter than was Mons. d' Arras. Whereupon d' Arras said the Queen had told him that the Emperor was sorry that he could not before give me leave to do unto himself mine errand from the King his good brother ; more sorry that he was not in plight to call me where his Majesty himself might tell me his own answer. It was a great comfort to him to perceive in the King's young years such a consideration of the public weal of Christendom, such a love and earnestness to help to settle things that were now lost and far out of order ; and as he could not but very earnestly rejoice at this, so he did give the King his most hearty thanks that there was in him such a desire to breed quietness to his old years ; *howbeit*, things

standing as they do (the *French King* being *he that began* the brawl, * and, for any thing his Majesty can hear as yet, *making no such offers* as may shew any desire of *peace*) other answer than he had made Mr. Dudley he could in no wise make. His Majesty had witnesses enough that, for the love he beareth to Christian tranquillity, he hath many times suffered things unfit to be suffered of a Prince of his estate and greatness ; and notwithstanding he hath received intolerable injuries at his enemies' hands, yet when there shall be such offers of peace made unto him as of reason the French King ought to make, and such as he with his honour may accept, the King, his good brother shall well understand that he willeth and wisheth the rest and weal of Christendom. He could hear of nothing said to our that went into France to practise this matter ; and he, till he heard thence, must say no more than he hath said to Mr. Dudley and me a long while since ; and yet, having now heard by the Queen, from me, that the King, his good brother, follows this his zeal with great earnestness to restore quietness to Christendom, his Majesty cannot but *exhort him to follow the practice*, and promise him that, upon honorable offers, proceeding whence they should, he will, with a good will, do that reason shall will him. Last of all, whereas he had

* By acceding to the league lately formed between Maurice of Saxony and other Princes of the Empire, under the pretence of obtaining the liberation of Philip, the captive Landgrave of Hesse, whom Charles had decoyed into his power by artifices which cast a blemish on his reign.

perceived by me that the King's Majesty began to wax weary of geldings, and took pleasure in great horses, and therefore had sent one of his Equerry with purpose to buy twenty horses at Naples, or in other his Majesty's dominions in Italy; his Majesty is content that he of the Equerry shall view his racers there, and choose out ten of the fairest of them all; these ten his Majesty will give unto the King, his good brother, with a licence for them and the other ten which he that goeth shall buy. The passport was made, and did but tarry till his Majesty could conveniently sign it. I told her Grace I, in my talk, would break the order; answering that that was last said first. The King's Majesty meant to buy horses; howbeit whereby title of friendship any great thing may be hoped for, I did not doubt but his Majesty would esteem the gift both according to the greatness of the giver's good will, and according to the desire that these his young years do breed in him. As for the other matter, his Majesty might be well assured the King would do his best to have honor of this enterprise which he has taken in hand, if good will, if travail, if any thing else be able to make him achieve it. With this d' Arras said, where the King's Majesty meant to change his Ambassador, the Emperor's Majesty saith that that herein shall best content his good brother shall also best content him: and here he said many good words of me, assuring me that the Emperor would be sorry for my going hence, but that he doth trust his good brother's choice, and thinks

it my contentment, after my long absence, to return home to the service of my Master there. I said, merrily, it was now time for me to get me home; for, as my wife was weary of the carriage of her Dutch daughter, so I was to be borne withal if I began to wax weary of the carrying of them both; and yet, said I, if I do not see my Master's work a little more forward ere I go hence, as well as I love him that shall succeed me, I shall envy him the glory of bringing things to pass which he can no more mean to do than I have wished myself able to do them; and there again I besought her Majesty, if either the Emperor or her Grace should see occasion for me to send my Master word what he might do, or *how he might* step to some new *labour*, that it might please her Grace to think no pleasure so grateful unto me as herein to take any pains. And here, turning to the Queen, I said I had heard that there was a Monk here with great offers of restitution, with entreaty for marriages. The Queen laughed, and said it was as true as that she is now at Rome. D' Arras also said "I told you all was but fables." "The Monk," says the Queen, "as my sister the French Queen had word seven days since, is sick in France, and is not like to live." This is the whole answer, and beyond these limits they say the Emperor may not pass.

The rumours scattered in the town were as I wrote, and are since brought to these particularities. The French King would render all Piedmont to the Prince of Piedmont, saving

Turin and Pignerol ; all Savoy to the Duke, saving Montmelian ;* and when the Prince of Spain should have any son by the French King's sister, the King doth offer to enter into covenants to yield up to that son all his right, interest, and title that France hath to Milan ; Metz, out of hand, to the Empire ; Siena, to those of Siena ; Lorraine, to the Duchess thereof. They have also devised the Emperor's answer ; that he hath already promised his son in marriage, but if the French King will bestow her upon the Prince of Piedmont, the Emperor hath, they say, promised to make up the marriage so that the French King will do that out of hand which he promises in time to come. These, and many such like rumours, they do still talk of here, but the Queen says they are all vanities ; and others, which think as the Queen does imagine (as I wrote unto your Honors) that they are devised by such as favour the French, only to make the people loath to pay such tasks as are agreed upon, and yet will hardly be gathered. Certes it were much that the French King would trust Bassamp with articles ; more that he would take them to a Monk, and make the King's Majesty privy to none of them. He should mean *little honor* to the King's Majesty for his travail, if he would these to make offer of so many conditions of peace, and not entreat the King's Majesty to use some of them for the better conducing of this their peace to some good pass. It is thought to

* Montmelian, an exceedingly strong fortress, in the Duchy of Savoy, on the frontiers of Dauphiné.

be not without some great purpose that the French King sendeth Cardinal Chatillon for his Ambassador to reside at Rome. Men think the Constable seeth a time wherein he may do the King his Master good service, or else he would not see him sent thither.

Duke Horatio, and Pietro Strozzi* are said to be going into Italy, and that they shall carry a fair band of men at arms with them, and find a good number of Swiss to meet them there; but they that see what wanteth do neither look for many Swiss, nor much war, this summer. It is yet written out of Italy that Marches Marignan hath, by the Emperor's commandment, made a proclamation in Italy that whatsoever soldier is unpaid his wages for service at Metz, let him come to the Marches, and he will see paid every penny that is due; yea, if there be father, mother, wife, brother, or sister of any of those soldiers that died at Metz unpaid, the Emperor will pay it to him or her that shall come for it to the Marches. The cry may serve to raise up new soldiers when they hear that dead men are called to receive their debts. It is supposed the Duke of Florence, now

* Peter Strozzi, a noble Florentine, who had for several years been an exile in France. His implacable hatred to the house of Medicis, for a conspiracy against which he had been banished his country, induced Henry to give him the command of the French army in the territories of Florence; more especially as the Florentine general, John James Medecino, Marquis of Marignano (called here "Marches Marignan"), though of very low birth, valued himself upon a fancied relation to that family; which the Grand Duke had thought fit to allow, in order to attach him more effectually to his interests.

the Turk is thought not to come, and that he is said to lack money, will utterly shew the Imperial. He is persuaded that the King does mean to turn him out of France, if time will serve, and, therefore he will do his best to turn him out of Siena while there is Emperor's power to help him to it. The Frenchmen, of late, have abandoned Pienza, and other forts belonging to Siena, which the French have ransacked and destroyed; the people of Siena much offended with them for it, because the King's promise was not only to save the town from taking, but their territory from spoil. Montecelli and Chiusi the French do hold; which, if they do forsake, it is thought Siena will, as they are changeable, become again to the Emperor, or, at least, enemies to France.

The Emperor is somewhat amended, as *his secretary* says. A two days since *his physician*, *Gasparus*,* was with me; unto whom I said "the

Andrew Vesalius, a native of Brussels, and a famous physiologist, and astrologer. He died at Zante, in the following year of his return from Jerusalem, where he had been in consequence of the following circumstance. A Spaniard of distinction, it had been for some time his patient, seeming to have expired, and obtained leave from his family to open the body; which having been performed, the heart was observed to move, and other signs of life appeared. The gentleman's friends hereupon prosecuted Vesalius as a murderer; and, to insure their revenge, at the same time accused him of impiety before the inquisition; from which tribunal Philip II. with some difficulty rescued him, on condition that he should make an expiatory pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

He left some professional tracts, which are still to be found in the libraries of the curious; and his portrait, very skilfully painted on board, by John Calkar, an artist who died several years before him, is preserved in the College of Physicians.

Emperor will make the world set less by physic than you physicians would have it ; that the Emperor, ready to spend millions, can by all your recipes come by no health that is able to tarry with him two months together ; I ween his sisters will prove his best physicians." His answer was, " It is rather *he that* may teach all men to honor physic, which hath so often plucked him from his grave." He told me that his Majesty taketh Guaiacum, and is far better now than he was twelve days since. When my successor is come we shall have a view of him, and so better judge right than we can learn by hearsay whether the Emperor amend or and yet I do not believe I shall ever see him weaker than Mr. Dudley and I saw him at Luxemburg. And thus most humbly I take my leave of your Honors. From Brussels, the 24th of March, 1553.

Your Lordships' most bounden so to be,

RICHARD MORYSIN.

No. XXIII.

(Cecil Papers.)

SIR RICHARD MORYSIN AND SIR THOMAS
CHAMBERLAYNE

TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Please it your good Lordships,
MARCHES Albert is parted five or six days since
from the Palgrave and the rest of the Princes,
bidding no one of them farewell. He went his
way over night, accompanied but with twelve

horses ; men supposing that if he may have his will, the Bishops of Germany are like to have worse rest this summer than they had in either of the two past. He makes men in great fury, and says to them they must tarry a time for their wages ; howbeit he hath appointed them places in the Bishop's countries, where they may live at their own discretion, that is licensed to spoil whom they find of less force than they themselves are. The rest of the Princes continue at Heidelberg, and devise how they may help things that almost seem past remedy. The Duke of Wirtemburg has agreed with *Magister Teutonici Ordinis*, so that the Duke shall have for his charges 66,000 dollars ; but the King of Rome will not as yet agree with Wirtemburg. The suit is now seven years old ; these Princes would fain end it. The King wills the crime to be felony, and so the Dukedom, with all the rest, to be forfeit. The Princes would have the King content with his action of *Damni datur*, and so would bring it to a fine of a convenient sum of money. The King asks, for his fine, a county belonging to the Duke, and also 300,000 dollars besides ; the Duke will neither part with the land, nor grant him more than 150,000 dollars, which the Princes seem to allow for a very reasonable offer, considering what the Duke's father paid to the Emperor, what he himself hath paid, and the damages that his subjects have suffered. Wolradus, for want of money, stole from his soldiers, and hath given them leave to shift for themselves. The

Duke of Brunswick* has already gathered together 20 ensigns of footmen, and 2000 horsemen. He is in some hope to recover his state, already three times lost. He means once again to drive Albertus, the father, and Wolradus, his son, out of their countries. He threatens great revenge to the sea cities. The King of Denmark intends this summer to place his brother, Hans Frederick, in the Bishopric of Bream. The Dean of Colain, brother to the Duke of Brunswick, has entered upon the Bishopric, and confirmed by the Bishop of Rome; howbeit it is said the Emperor is content that Denmark's brother be Bishop there. The *Duke of Saxony's preacher* writes that there are agents from Duke Maurice, not yet come to Duke Frederick, but still looked for, to treat of a concord and amity between these two. He thinks there is some hope of it, for that the Emperor, the King of the Romans, and the other Princes of Germany, do much desire their atonement; and, as most men do earnestly wish the agreement, so there are very few that can see upon what ground they can hope for it. Duke Maurice hath parted of late with the Duke of Brunswick at Hala, where the Landgrave was first committed to prison; to what end their talk tended we can-

* Henry IV. Duke of Brunswick and Wolfenbuttel. He had been stripped of his dominions in 1543, by the Princes of the famous Smalcaldic league, which he, being a bigotted Papist, had always firmly opposed; and the Emperor, who took possession of them to hold in sequestration till these disputes should be settled, contrived matters so that Henry was never fully restored. He died in June, 1568, after experiencing strange vicissitudes, the effect of his impolitic conduct.

not hear, but it is thought Maurice will be of council with as many Germans as gather up men, either to have them on his side, if he need them, or not to have them against him where they may do him harm. Maurice maketh money where he can, by all means; and, amongst others, the Bishop and Chapter of Magdeburg have of late paid unto him 56,000 dollars, part of his expenses while he besieged Magdeburg. Marches Hans* of Brandenburg, who has to wife the Duke of Brunswick's daughter, hath far more men in readiness than he brought with him to serve the Emperor at Metz. The house of Brandenburg and Duke Maurice are at great enmity. Before that Duke Maurice did practise with France, Marches Hans had of the French King 20,000 guilders yearly, since he had not had an halfpenny. Ernestus, dying, hath left unto his brother, Duke John Frederick† besides his yearly revenue of 20,000 guilders, a great deal of plate and ready money. The two brothers, Dukes of Mecklenburg, are at great discord; the one utterly friend to Duke Maurice, the other as much against him as may be.

* Hans, or John, Margrave of Brandenburg-Custrin. He married Catherine, daughter of Henry IV. Duke of Brunswick, &c.

† John Frederick, the late Elector of Saxony. Charles, who had deprived this Prince of his dominions to bestow them on Duke Maurice, had lately released him from a prison, where he had lain five years, and received him into some degree of favour. He died March 4, in the following year, without having been restored to the Electorate, though he outlived his enemy Maurice.

And, while all these stirs are growing great in Germany, and while the French King is plying both the sides with his secret aids and unseen practices, *the Emperor keeps his bed, as unfit to hear of the mischiefs that grow round about him as unable to devise how to remedy them if they were still told him.* *The Emperor's stomach* was this last week very much *swoln, and he* in great feebleness. The Queen, perceiving that *pills* made of *Soldanella + an herb* that comes out of Italy, had done *Mons. du Ruellp* good, *purg[ing] his stomach* of an incredible deal of *water*, and other *raw* and *gross* matter, willed *Doctor Cornelius* to break the matter to *the Emperor*, and to see whether his mind would serve him to *take the same purgation.* *The Emperor* agreed to it, and at four o'clock *the next morning* took it; which did *so work his stomach, so purge him*, that (saving your Honours) he that did *carry out* that that came from *him* did *faint* by the way, and had much ado to *keep himself* on his *feet*, so much did the *savour* turn his *stomach*. It wrought on *him* *nine* times, besides *twice upwards*. We had not *known of* this, but I, Morysin, having mine *uvula* fallen, have had *need of Vesalius* these five or six days, *who, amongst other things, told me the Queen and Cornelius* did *utterly despair of his life.* *The Emperor* as he saith, is now as glad that he *took it* as the

* *Soldanella*, a kind of Bindweed. The old Herbals call it *Brassica Marina*, Sea Cawle, or Cale, and Dodoens says, “ it groweth in plenty, not only on the Italian shores, but on the salt banks in Zealand, and along the coast of Flanders, and is given with profit to such as have the dropsey.”

Queen and Cornelius were sorry that ever they consented to give it unto him. The physician doubts much the *Emperor's recovery*; but he has a *body* so bly to *deceive physicians*, and so able to live upon *small strength*, that till *he be gone* indeed we will *wink he hath* still to tarry a little while; for, seeing the *purgation* did *him* no more harm, it must needs be that it did him much good. *The Emperor's apothecary* told Ascham that his Majesty is very well amended, and will change his lodging ut of the palace into his park garden, and will so shortly come abroad.

D'Alva went his way before I, Morysin, wrote my last letters to your Honours; but I had such aste to dispatch that little then, and have been so oubled since with my fallen uvula, and the matter of so small importance, that till now I could not write thereof. He rode hence but with his barber and his guide. Some say he goes over into Spain; some do think he shall still tarry at Naples, Vice-*ny*. It is written out of Italy that the King of *omans* has obtained a truce at the Turk's hands for two years: it is also said that the Emperor bours to make a truce with him, if he cannot make it up a peace. The Turk does not amend his galleys, nor rig out more than fifty. In Greece there is no biscuit in making; no preparation of stuals, or other things, as there is wont to be when the Turk sends his galleys this way. The *enetians* do not arm their galleys, nor talk of any general, which is one of the best signs that the

Turk intends nothing this year. They talk in this Court that Duke John Frederick shall be General of the Emperor's wars, and Marches Albert Vice-general. The Baylo of Brabant, men say, goes from house to house to have men's plate for a twelvemonth, to coin it; offering 36 stivers for an ounce, which else goes for 31 the ounce. Mons. du Ruelp is already gone towards the borders to his charge, and the most part of the great men of this country make them ready to go, and some are gone hence already.

And I, Chamberlayne, going this day to visit the *Ambassador of Venice*, learned these intelligences. The Turks in Hungary are in some quietness, by reason the Sophy does occupy them the other way. The captains and soldiers of Transylvania are come to the King of Romans to complain for the lack of payment, and *he not able to help them*; the people *unable to suffer any more taxes*. The King of Romans has sent Gusman, one of the chief about him, to the Emperor to exhort him to appoint a diet in some place of Germany, for the quietness of the same, which messenger, as yet, has had no audience. On Thursday last his Majesty gave audience unto the Deputies of Milan, sent by Ferrante Gonzaga; who, before his Majesty, protested against the perils that might ensue, saying that Gonzaga could do no more without money, and that the 50,000 ducats which his Majesty had now prepared to be sent unto him was nothing to the purpose, he

being 400,000 ducats in debt already, and the subjects so far strained as they began to *mutiny*, and would *no more*; so that if the French King should send any mean power towards *Piedmont*, and would make any countenance towards any of the *forts of Milan*, they feared it should be *yielded* without *stroke*.

Mons. d'Aremberg has dispatched the soldiers which he had before Metz, and were evil paid; whereupon they mutinied, and he in hazard among them. The Frenchmen of late have burned certain villages in the territory of Artois. Here is prepared, and already in readiness, boats to pass rivers with, and other instruments belonging to war, in lieu of a good quantity of the same lost at Metz; and count is made that all kinds of munition, with carriage and wages of such as shall have charges thereof, shall amount to 51,000 guilders a month. Mons. de Glasion, Master of the Artillery, is this day departed towards Artois; and Mons. de Hoghstrart within two days goes another way, to visit the frontiers. We guess the Emperor has not yet resolved to make this year any invasion upon the enemy from these parts, because it will be very possible for him to do it, nor for his enemy to come hither with any army, unless they carry all things necessary with them, which seems impossible; so sore both the limits have wasted each other in so great compass that, instead of water, famine is bond sufficient to keep them asunder. And thus most humbly we

take our leave of your Honours. From Brussels,
the 4th of April, 1553.

Your Lordships' most bounden so to be,

RICHARD MORYSIN —
T. CHAMBERLAYNE —

*To the right honorable and our singular good
Lords, the Lords of the King's Majesty's
most honorable Privy Council.*

No. XXIV.

(Cecil Papers.)

SIR RICHARD MORYSIN
TO THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

Please it your Grace,

ALBEIT though all that I can do be so little as it may justly be thought nothing, yet if all be at your Grace's commandment I may better make my excuse that it is no more than your Grace can charge me that it is too little. I confess I shall not be able at any time to deserve these comforts which your honorable letters from time to time now a great while have brought unto me. I must say more ; I am content I shall not, so your Grace do still think I fain would deserve this, and any other that your favor can bestow upon me.

I was glad the time was come, as I took it, that I should shortly be where I might let scribbling alone, and fall to saying and doing, in your sight, that that might better serve duty than letters can ; but I perceive there is either a wrong done to Mr. Dudley, or else more right done to me than I am glad of ; for if the commission be amended he hath a wrong, yet he cometh not to end that

which he had so good thanks in this Court for beginning thereof; and, if there come now no more offers than those that did, I would be loth to tarry till seeds sown in so cold a time as they were, and in so cold a ground, should bring forth my fruits. If these bring no better stuff than we had to help ourselves withal, I do believe they and I shall do no more than Mr. Dudley and I did; and yet if the Queen were prayed to put her helping hand, it might be she would, for her own part of the glory, be the gladder to help us in our travel.

I do look daily now for my Lord of Norwich and Mr. Hoby * longing to see what we have to do, and wishing it done, that I might end all the rest my evil lucks in the journey with so good a luck at the latter end. The Princes of Germany are about many leagues; what will ensue it will hardly be guessed till it be done. My wife comes home a glad woman; not so much that her travel is ended, as that she sees how much I am bound to your Grace, how much she is bound to my Lady's goodness. I must confess the gladness that my wife has received in this our time of sundry troubles, by your Grace's letters written unto me, has been the best delay of them, and the best medicine that she hath found to cut eares shorter, when else they might have grown bigger than she had room for them. I know what time soever God shall give her to live, it will all be too short to pay what she owes to my Lady's Grace; and,

* Thirleby, Bishop of Norwich, and Sir Philip Hoby.

therefore, both she and I must teach both our English son and our Dutch daughter what our debt is, and how they must stand charged to see it paid, when there is any of your noble house that they may do service unto. And thus I humbly take my leave of your Grace. From Brussels, the 11th of April, 1553.

Your Grace's, most bound so to be,
RICHARD MORYSIN.

Don Diego has promised to write to your Grace. I think my Lord Guildford, your son and his godson, shall have a fair genet from him. Two or three greyhounds, and a gelding or two, were not amiss bestowed upon him.

My Lord of Northumberland's Grace.

No. XXV.

(Cecil Papers.)

SIR THOMAS CHAMBERLAYNE
TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Please your most honourable Lordships to be advertised,

BECAUSE Mr. Morysin does at this time answer your Lordships' letters addressed particularly to him, I have thought good, for my own part, to certify of such occurrences as I can learn. It is said that the Emperor is well recovered of his health since he proved extremities, as your Lordships have heard of late, in taking of a strong

medicine, more meet for a horse than for a man. And, as it should seem, his Majesty does now begin to attend to his affairs more than he has done at any time since his arrival here ; for now is for certain given out that the Prince of Piedmont * is appointed for General of such army as his Majesty will set forth this year ; and the same, as it is said, shall have for counsellors, by whom he shall be ordered from time to time, Mons. du Reux, Mons. de Hoghstrart, Mons. d'Arembergh, Mons. de Layne, Mons. de Bushowe, and Mons. de Beincorte ; which six it is also said shall have charge of 1000 horse a piece, and Mons. du Rye, of his Majesty's chamber, another thousand, besides the ordinary bands of those Low Countries. Thus goes the bruit ; if the half thereof be true it shall not be amiss.

I do not yet hear of any charge of footmen committed to any man, more than to Martin Van Rossen, whereof Mr. Morysin and I did advertise long since ; but men do think that ere it be long the Duke of Arscot, the Prince of Orange, and the Count of Egmonde, shall have some charge committed unto them ; for the Prince of Orange,

* Emanuel Philibert, Prince of Piedmont, who succeeded his father as Duke of Savoy soon after the date of this letter. He gained great fame, and the title of *Caput ferreum*, for his prudence and bravery in the Imperial service, particularly at the siege of Metz, and at the battle of St. Quintins, and was not less remarkable for the good management of his own affairs, for, by his marriage with Margaret, daughter of Francis the First of France, he recovered those territories which that Monarch had unjustly wrested from his father, and restored the house of Savoy to its former consequence. He died at Turin, Aug. 30, 1580.

meaning to have gone to his house at Breda more than ten days past, was commanded to tarry, and not to depart. Your Lordships have heard by Mr. Morysin's former letters and mine what preparation here was made both of artillery and all other kind of munition ; which, as the saying goes, is all conveyed towards Artois, whereas men of war do gather fast, as one told me that came of late thence, and so it is thought that thence a great army shall be set forth to invade Picardy ; yet is it thought that the course that Mons. de Reux made that way in the end of the last summer has left a great part of the limits of that country towards these so full of famine as whenever the Emperor or the French King were disposed to conduct an army that way, the one to the other, they should be fain to carry all kind of provision for the same. The Emperor has licensed all the thousand horsemen, Swart Rutters, that the Duke of Holstein brought to serve before Metz, because they would have what entertainment they list : Commissaries are also appointed to go to Treves, and there to discharge other two bands of horsemen that have lain long in that country since breaking up from Metz, and will not depart thence without they be paid ; but, for all that, they shall have but a portion given them now, and the rest promised by a day.

It has been talked more than these eight days that the Emperor would change his lodging, and go to a little house of one Mons. de Saceny, which the Queen took in to the park when she did enlarge

it the last year, and great haste was made to put the house in order, but as yet he is not gone there. The talk goes still that the Prince of Spain shall be here within these four months, and that the Duke of Alva is gone for him, who at his return shall be Viceroy of Naples. As greater preparations shall be made, or aught else devised for these wars that I may by any means learn, your Lordships shall be advertised. And thus I beseech Almighty God long to continue you in health and honour. From Brussels, the 11th of April, 1553.

Your Lordships' most bounden at commandment,

T. CHAMBERLAYNE.

No. XXVI.

(Cecil Papers.)

SIR THOMAS GRESHAM

TO THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

It may please your Grace to be advertised that by my letter of the 7th of this present I signified unto your Grace of the sudden fall of the exchange from 20s. 4d. to 19s.; perceiving now the fault to be in our own merchants as much as in strangers, and rather like to fall than to rise. In consideration whereof I took up, by exchange, for the behalf of the King's Majesty, of divers and sundry persons the sum of £1837. 8. sterling, which makes £1756. 2. 3. Flemish, as by the account thereof sent to my Lords of the Privy

Council may more plainly appear. And, for that I perceived that our nation was wholly unprovided for the payment of the King's money due the last of March, and they did trust only to make their provision by taking up of money by exchange (which I will assure your Grace if I had not presently prevented the matter it would have brought the exchange to 18*s.* and under; and that was I declared to the company that they had most disobediently used themselves towards the King's Majesty, considering how frankly his Highness had paid them their money afore hand, as well for the keeping up of the exchange, whereby they should be no losers, but gainers; so that now it shall appear to the King's Majesty and his Council that we merchants are those who do keep down the exchange), I frankly declared unto them that if they took no other ways to pay me but to take up their money by exchange, I should not let to advertise the King and his Council of their slender provision, as also I would advertise how they were that did take up any money by exchange. Upon this admonishment, made to bring up the exchange, I set me all the brokers of exchange to me by exchange, some 200, and some 300, 400, and 500 lb., and had given forth my word for 4000 lb. And when the merchants-strangers saw that I began to deliver, they were all afraid to meddle with me; and as for our nation I was most assured of; so that in two hours' time I raised the exchange from 19*s.* to 19*s.* 8*d.*, and there I trust to keep it; and now rather like to rise than to fall,

for that here are divers of our own nation (and specially the staplers) have much money to deliver ; and now there are no takers, which without doubt will cause the exchange to rise : trusting that your Lordship, and my Lords of the Council, have bargained with the merchants-adventurers and staplers to have for every pound sterling 23s. 4d. Flemish, to pay here in England August next, in valued money ; which bargain once concluded, and the thing openly known to all men, without doubt it will bring up the exchange to 23s. 4d. And my poor advice is, if the merchants do require to have any more money beforehand to be disbursed, you should in no wise consent thereto ; for the plenty of money amongst our merchants in England do cause the exchange to fall in London, and here the plenty of money does cause the exchange to rise. Therefore I would wish the King's Majesty to be at his liberty, in such sort as he was last ; whereby the merchants might be kept hungry from money till opportunity served, whereof from time to time I should advertise you ; as also it would be a means to cause the merchants the sooner to come to a reckoning with me, and to put me in good sureties here, as they have done heretofore ; so that by this means, the King should be in a sure certainty that he shall be paid at his day, which is the best and surest way ; and by this means the King's Majesty should receive great honour, as also credit amongst his merchants, &c. And, according as I have written your Grace, the payment does begin the 15th of this present ;

trusting to make a brief dispatch of the King's Majesty's charge, and to wait upon your Grace very shortly after.

Also it may please your Grace to understand that my friend the Shetz * has requested me to write to your Grace in the favour of a young gentleman who is very desirous to serve your Grace (having little to take unto, nevertheless he is come of a good house, for that Mons. de Bevre is nigh kin unto him) and seems to me to be a very handsome man, and has served the Emperor in his wars, and as for his honesty and truth he will answer for. And, considering how he has requested me to write to your Grace, it may please your Grace of your goodness to accept him into your service, and, upon his behaviour, and faithful service, to be good unto him, who, with his friends, have requested my letter to your Grace, which I have given him : his name is Adrian de Borseland. Other I have not to molest your Grace ; but that it may please you to do my most humble commendations to Lady's Grace, as also to my singular good Lord my Lord of Pembroke.

* A great mercantile family of Antwerp. They are frequently mentioned in Haynes's papers. In "a brief of the King's Majesty's debts, 1552," in that collection we find—"to the Shets, £10,700 ;—to the Shetz, for the diamond, £1000." And again in Mary's reign, Aug. 27, 1553, are mentioned, "—Bonds under the broad seal of England, and the seal of the city of London, wherein the King and the city stood bound to Jasper Shetz, merchant of Antwerp, to pay him £7440." Much matter relative to these commercial transactions at Antwerp may be found in Edward VI.'s Journal of his reign, transcribed from the Cotton Library by Bishop Burnet into his History of the Reformation.

Also it may please your Grace to be advertised that I have shewed unto the company of merchants-adventurers your effectuous thanks, which were as welcome to them as might be ; and have requested me to write to your Grace that if there be any service in the world they can do for your Grace, they are all at your commandment. As knows our Lord, who may preserve your Grace in health and long life, with increase of honour. From Antwerp, the 12th day of April, 1553.

At your commandment during life,

THOMAS GRESHAM.*

To the Duke of Northumberland's Grace.

No. XXVII.

(Cecil Papers.)

SIR CONRADE PENNY
TO THE KING.

GRATIAM et pacem a Deo Patre et Domino nostro Jesu Christo, cum humilima delatione suorum obsequiorum.

Serenissime ac potentissime Rex, meum officium esse puto, pro debita fide et obedientia qua

* Thomas, afterwards Sir Thomas, Gresham, second son of Sir Richard Gresham, an Alderman of London, by Audrey, daughter of William Lynne of that city. This was the celebrated person who founded the Royal Exchange, and whose name is otherwise so famous in the annals of our trade. As a large account of him is given in the printed Baronetages, with more correctness than is usual in collections of that kind, it would be inconsistent with my plan to say more of him in this place. He died Nov. 21, 1579.

V. R. M. obstrictus sum, de rebus Germanici iis quæ apud nos geruntur R. V. M. certiores facere. Quod hactenus autem est præmisum in caussa fuit; quia nihil memorabile, aut quod non in opere scriptione dignum esset, occurrebat. Et autem hoc tempore mihi justa ac commoda oblati sit scribendi ad V. R. M. occasio non potui omittere, ut voluntas, tam justæ occasioni oblatæ, deesset. Volui itaque pro debita erga V. M. fide et obedientia, novarum rerum nonnihil quæ in hisce Germaniæ partibus geruntur ad V. R. M. prescribere. Sciat igitur V. R. M. quod in hisce partibus Germaniæ, Philippus Magnus,* Henrici Duci Braunschensis filius, magnum cum equitum tum peditum congregatam copiam habeat. Penetrat multas urbes et pagos, et non parvum bonorum hominum numerum ad paupertatem et inopiam suo tumultu bellico adigit. Maximam insuper partem captarum arcium et castellorum a Comite Wolrado de Mansfeld recuperavit et obtinet; Episcopatum Munsteriensem et Ossenbrugensem grandi pecunia multavit, ne tota diocæsis incendio interiret: Diocæsin quoque Mindensem vi obtinuit. Fœdus autem, dictus Philippus Magnus, cum Episcopis Bambergensi et Wirtzenborgensi, qui Alberto Marchioni Norinbergensi capitales sunt hostes et inimici inuit. Huic igitur, jam dicto Duci Philippo, contraria neque exigua copia cum equitum tum peditum in hac etiam parte Germaniæ congregatur, et quotidie imo singulis ferè horis exercitum

* Third son of Henry IV. Duke of Brunswick. He was slain at Sieverhausen on the 9th of the following month.

maximè augeri videmus. Et colligitur totus hic exercitus nomine Marchionis Alberti Norinbergen sis ; cuius exercitus supremus dux est Christophorus Comes Aldenburgensis, secundus vero post eum Dominus de Warburg, nec non Walderdom. Colligitur autem non cum summa festinatione, sed singulis diebus quasi pedetetum et equites et milites confluunt. Sum et ego ad hunc numerum vocatus, sed aliquid gravius quidam moliuntur, quod adhuc sub penna latet, et occultum est. Spero tamen me hac de re brevi certiore futurum, quod ubi factum fuerit, pro mea erga R. V. M. fide et obedientia cum omni submissione significabo. Quid vero ex hoc tumultu bellico eventurum sit, videbimus et experiemur suo tempore. Haec, pro mea fide et obedientia erga V. R. M. breviter hoc tempore scribere volui: Rogoque cum omni submissione V. M. velit pristinam voluntatem et favorem erga me retinere. Ego vicissim me V. M. offero cum omnibus quæ possum et habeo: Et si regia V. M. periculum facere mea obedientia voluerit, experietur me velle et debere, et corpus et omnia quæ habeo pro V. M. expendere. Postremo oro, et summis precibus contendeo, quod si R. M. meam operam desideravit, uti regia M. id mihi significare dignetur; nihil enim tam arduum, etiamsi capitale fuerit periculum, quod non libenter sim nomine R. M. subiturus. Illud quoque silentio præterire non possum, quod sine ulla temporis ferè intermissione me convenienti rei militaris periti, tribuni et milites, nobiles, proceres, et exercituum duces, incredibili desiderio scisci.

tantes a me num regia M. eorum velit uti ope
fide et constantia, se noctes atque dies fore p
tissimos, si qua in re possunt R. M. prode
Juramento quoque affirmantes, se nullius regis
principis castris libertius, quam V. M. militare,
etiam, modo cedere possit in R. M. commodi
non solum omnes facultates et divitias, ver
etiam ipsam vitam in discrimen posituros, quo t
dem divino adjuti consilio R. M. totique reg
laudem, gloriam, decus et honorem, bellica
virtute possint acquirere. Quod profecto,
mea erga R. M. fide et obedientia R. M. cæl
non potui, cum ob summum amorem, quem semper
erga R. M. totiusque ejus regnum gessi, et ad
gero, tum ut R. M. cognosceret qualem animi
Germani duces, proceres, nobiles, equites et mil
ites, erga R. M. et totum regnum gerunt. His co
mendo V. R. M. Deo Opt. Max. oroque ut vestr
M. diu conservare velit incolumem, cum ad nos
nisi sui gloriam, tum ad regni V. M. salutar
gubernationem. Datum Hamburgi, 6 Junii, An
a partu Virgineo 1553.

V. R. M.

Obsequentissimus,

CONRADUS PENNY, Mil

*Serenissimo ac potentissimo Edwardo
sesto nominis, Angliae, Galliae, Hy
berniaeque Regi, Ecclesiae Anglicane
Hyberniaeque summo defensori, Do
mino suo clementissimo.*

M A R Y.

No. I.
(Cecil Papers.)

LORDS OF THE COUNCIL
TO —————

AFTER our hearty commendations. We must need be sorry now to write that which comes both sorrowfully from us, and shall, we well know, with the like sorrow be taken of you; but such is the almighty will of God in all his creations, that his order in them may not be by us resisted. In one word we must tell you a great heap of infelicity: God has called out of this world our Sovereign Lord, the 6th of this month; whose manner of death was such toward God as assures us his soul is in the place of eternal joy, as for your own satisfaction partly you may perceive by the copy of the words which he spake secretly to himself at the moment of his death. The disease whereof his Majesty died was the disease of the lungs, which had in them two great ulcers, and were putrified, by means whereof he fell into a consumption, and so hath he wasted, being utterly incurable.

Of this evil, for the importance, we advertise you, knowing it most comfortable to have been ignorant of it ; and the same you may take time to declare unto the Emperor, as from us, which know assuredly that as his Majesty will sorrow with us and this realm the departure and loss of a Prince of such excellency, and so dear a brother and friend to him and his countries ; not doubting but his Majesty will have in remembrance the ancient amity that has been always betwixt this realm of England and the house of Burgundy, and other his Majesty's dominions ; for conservation whereof you shall assure him that there shall not be any lack found of our part, but always a readiness to observe and maintain the same, for the weal of both the nations.

TO THE FRENCH.

And in the end you shall declare that his Majesty's Ambassadors have here shewed unto ~~us~~ that which he had in charge from his Majesty, by his letters, touching the detection of certain practices of the Emperor intended with the Lady Mary, to the danger of this realm, for the avoiding whereof his Majesty, like a Prince of great honor, offers such help as he may conveniently ; where surely his Majesty shews himself so worthy of praise and thanks, of us and all this realm, as we shall never forget this his great friendship in so difficult times, although we doubt not but that the estate and power of this realm shall, by God's goodness, prevail against all manner of practices

or attempts, either by the Emperor or any other, either foreign or outward enemies, whatsoever the same be.*

No. II.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. P. fol. 223.)

THE COUNTESS OF SHREWSBURY
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

AFTER my most hearty commendations unto your good Lordship, the same shall be advertised that yesternight, as the Queen's Majesty came from even song, which was sung in the chapel by all the singing men of the same, with playing of the organs of the solemnest manner, her Highness called me unto her, and asked me when your Lordship rode towards the North; and when I had told her Grace, she held up her hands, and besought God to send you good health, and soon to see you again; and also prayed God to send you good success in her affairs in that country (with many other good and comfortable words towards your Lordship too long here to write) whereby I perceive her Highness to be somewhat doubtful of the quietness of that country. Wherefore, good

* These papers are evidently rough drafts of letters from the Privy Council to the English Ambassadors at the French and Imperial Courts. It should seem by a note of Bishop Keanett's on Sir John Hayward's history of the late reign that the Bishop had perused the former, or a copy of it, probably in manuscript, for I have not met with it in any printed collection. I prefer, however, the chance of republishing the paper to that of withholding from the curious any information on so interesting a subject.

my Lord, let her Highness have a letter from you as soon as you come to York of the state of the country thereabouts, and how they take her Grace's new service, wherewith her Highness much rejoices to hear her subjects well pleased. And after that, by reason the warrant for your commission for the Presidentship was not signed, I moved her Grace for it ; and she was sorry it was so long delayed ; and straightway commanded my Lord of Arundel to send to my Lord Chancellor for it, and so signed it straightway.

Her Highness was so much my good Lady that she commanded me whatsoever I liked I should be bold to come to her Grace, for she would be my husband until your Lordship returned again. My Lord, you shall understand that my Lord of Arundel shewed himself very friendly unto me, and has been with me divers times, and asks me what I like very gently. Other news here is not as yet, but that my Lord Courtenay* this day shall be created Earl of Devonshire ; and what other things shall chance here worthy advertisement your Lordship shall be sure to hear from me from time to time, by the grace of our Lord, who send you long good health. From Richmond, this 3rd day of September, 1553.

Your Lordship's loving wife,
G. SHREWSBURY.†

To my Lord.

* Edward Courtenay. For this nobleman, as well as for the Earl of Arundel, mentioned a little before, see following papers and notes.

† Grace, second wife of Earl Francis, who married her when widow to Robert Shakerley of Holme in Cheshire ; she died in August, 1558.

No. III.

(Cecil Papers. 1553.)

SIR EDWARD DYMOKE
TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

SINCE I last spake to you for my allowance of such things as I should have had out of your office against the coronation * I never heard from you, neither will Lenthal deliver me any such parcels without your commandment; and where you required a warrant from the Queen, the truth is I had at the coronation of King Edward all such parcels delivered me by your father † without warrant, and at this time I had no warrant for any thing but only my harness, which is now in making. I had my cup of gold without warrant, I had my horse without warrant, and all my trappings and crimson satin without warrant; neither was there any required of me, inasmuch as it does appear by old precedents of my claim that I ought to have it; and I do intend to have my claim exemplified under seal; wherefore I pray you be not straiter with me than your father was in his time, and others in their offices have been at this time. It is the Queen's pleasure that I should have all things pertaining to the office, and so she willed me to declare unto my Lord Treasurer, and rather than I would be driven to sue out a warrant for so small a thing I had rather lose it.

* October 1, preceding this date.

† Richard Cecil, Groom, and afterwards Yeoman of the Wardrobe to Henry VIII. He held the latter office under Edward VI. and died in it, March 22, 1552—3.

I have sent you Lenthall's bill, which I have paid; praying you I may either have such like things delivered unto me, or else so much money as they do amount: I ought to have all the parcels contained in Lenthall's bill, except two partizans, which is not in my allowance. Good Mr. Cecil, be as favourable unto me in this matter as you may be, for if you deny me I will not further travail in the matter; praying you to weigh my case as if it were your own, and in shewing me this friendship I shall not fail to requite it if I live; for I do not pass so much of the value of the allowance as I do for the precedent to hinder them who shall come of me if I do lose it at this time. And thus most heartily I bid you farewell, this 23rd of November.

Your assured loving friend,
EDWARD DYMOKE.*

Stuff that I Philip Lenthall have delivered to
Sir Edward Dymoke.

Item, for a shroud, and a girdle, and a		
scabbard of velvet	- - - -	40s.
Item, for two partizans gilt	- - - -	40s.

* Sir Edward Dymoke, Knight Banneret; the then representative of that family which hath so long been distinguished by the office of Champion at the Coronation. He was the eldest son of Sir Robert Dymoke, by Jane, daughter and heir of John Sparrow, of London; married Anne, daughter of Sir George Talboys; and had issue three sons; Sir Robert, Charles, and Edmund; and six daughters; Elizabeth, wife of Henry Ayscough; Margaret, married to William Lord Eure; Frances, to Thomas Windebank; Dorothy, Susan, and Sarah. The manor of Scrivelsby in Lincolnshire, to which the singular honour above mentioned is attached, is now in the possession of Sir Edward's descendant and heir male.

Item, for a poll axe	- - - - -	20s.
Item, for a chasing staff	- - - - -	6s. 8d.
Item, a gilt pair of spurs	- - - - -	16s.
Sum total	- - - - -	£6. 2s. 8d.

No. IV.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. C. fol. 5.)

THE EARL OF ARUNDEL
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

My very good Lord,

After my most hearty commendations, these shall be most heartily to thank you for your right gentle letters, and to ascertain you that, God be thanked, the Queen's Highness is in good health of her body, but sick in certain naughty members of her commonwealth, as the Carews, in the west parts, and Wyat, Harper, and Culpepper, in Kent; of which disease I trust Almighty God shall shortly deliver her freely. The Carews stir not, but as we hear, are ready to run away; the county of Devonshire will not them. Gawen Carew made his escape out of Exeter jail stole away over the walls of . The Kentish men also faint, as it seems; for Harper essays to persuade the people to go home to their houses, so he may have the Queen's pardon, and Culpepper makes all the means he can to get thence. The Duke of Norfolk, and divers others, as the Lord Clinton, the Lord Cobham, the Treasurer of the Queen's House, and divers other gentlemen, are gone towards the rebels, who indeed have assem-

bled themselves in Rochester, and there keep the passage. For this news, for this time, I thought good to signify unto your Lordship and as the rest shall succeed you shall hear so shortly as I can tell you. As knows God, who keep my Lady and your Lordship in good health, 28th of January, 1553,

Your Lordship's own,

H. ARUNDEL.*

* Henry Fitz Alan, tenth and last Earl of Arundel of that very ancient house; Governor of Calais, and Lord Chamberlain to Henry VIII. President of the Council under Mary; Steward of the Household to that Princess and her successor, and Chancellor of the University of Oxford. This peer was distinguished by the two leading features of the character of an English nobleman in more remote times; a simplicity of conduct, derived from conscious integrity, and a vast ambition, founded on his high rank and great riches. He was one of the few powerful men who in the late reign adhered to the Protector to the last, and was therefore, under frivolous pretences, vexed with a fine of £12,000, an injury for which he afterwards obtained ample revenge, for he was the first mover in the convention of nobles against Lady Jane Grey's title, and was soon after appointed by the Queen to seize the person of the Duke of Northumberland, his mortal enemy. Somewhat late in life, he made a proposal of marriage to Elizabeth, which being refused, he desired leave to travel (see a letter of December 11, 1565), and remained abroad for some years. The disgust excited by this denial induced him to oppose the measures of the Court after his return. He publicly condemned the projected match with the Duke of Anjou, became a professed enemy to Cecil and Leicester, and an active party in the Duke of Norfolk's plans with regard to the Queen of Scots. The unhappy consequences of the latter probably gave him a distaste to public life, for he is not mentioned in history after that period. He died in March, 1579—80, and was buried at Arundel.

The Earl of Arundel married, first, Katherine, daughter of Thomas Grey, second Marquis of Dorset, by whom he had three children: Henry, who died at Brussels, unmarried; Joan, married to Lord Lumley; and Mary, to Thomas Duke of Norfolk; in right of descent from whose son, Philip, first Earl of Arundel of the Howards, the present Duke of Norfolk holds that remarkable Earldom by the possession of the manor and castle of Arundel; the only peerage of that nature in England, and which hath had

The cause of this insurrection, as they bruit in all these places, is the Queen's marriage with the Prince of Spain. The Duke of Suffolk * is on Friday also stolen from his house at Sheen, and run away, with his two brethren, into Leicestershire; for he was met at Stony-Stratford; my Lord of Huntingdon is gone into those parts after him, with against him. The Duke is proclaimed traitor.

*To the right honourable and my very good Lord
the Earl of Shrewsbury, President of the
Queen's Council in the North.*

No. V.

(Talbot Papers, vol. C. fol. 23. 1553.)

ROBERT SWYFT
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

PLEASE it your Lordship to be advertised, that this day I received your Lordship's letter, sent by the post. And where in my letters, sent by Aaron, advertised not your Lordship of your affairs committed to my charge, your Lordship shall understand that I have enrolled your letters patent

the singular fortune to remain in the same blood for five hundred years. His second wife was Mary, daughter of Sir John Arundel of Llanherne in Cornwall, and widow of Robert Ratcliffe, Earl of Essex; by whom he had no issue.

* He left London on the 25th; was betrayed by an old servant, and imprisoned in the Tower, Feb. 11; and was beheaded Feb. 23.

bled th
passa
goor
she
y' the auditor, and have been with
the auditor, for the like within his
forasmuch as it appears, as well by
others patent as by your particulars, that it
passed for a less value than the King has been
ordered ever since the dissolution of the hous
Knaresborough,* I am troubled with the same,
for he would know the Council's pleasure therein
ere he made me any debenture to receive the rent
of the same; but I intend to practise my old ex-
perience. And for your Lordship's fees, this
troublesome time has been such that all men are
commanded to pay no man as yet. And as touching
any suits, no man has been, or, for any likelihood
that I can see, shall be, heard for a time; where-
fore but only for your Lordship's affairs I had been
with you after Shrovetide.

Since the taking of Wyat, as I wrote your
Lordship, the Council is continually occupied about
the search of this conspiracy, which is thought to
be great. The Earl of Huntingdon, furnished with
200 horsemen with staves and bows, brought
through London upon Saturday afternoon the Duke
of Suffolk, and the Lord John,† his brother, and

* The little priory of Knaresborough in Yorkshire, founded in
the reign of King John. It was found at the dissolution to be
endowed with £35. 10. 11. per annum, and the site of it was
granted to Francis Earl of Shrewsbury in the 7th of Edward VI.

† Lord John Grey had the estate of Pyrgo in Essex; and mar-
rying Mary, sister of Anthony Browne, first Viscount Montague,
left a son, Henry, who was created by James I. Baron Grey of
Groby, from whom the Earl of Stamford is descended. It does
not appear in history that this Lord John was concerned in Wyat's
rebellion.

so conducted them to the Tower. The Lord Thomas was taken going towards Wales, and is coming up ; and, notwithstanding that the said Duke, and Wyat, with the most part of his captains, remains as yet in the Tower, yet there is nightly watch in the court, in harness, both day and night in London.

This day my Lady Jane was beheaded within the Tower, and the Lord Guildford, her husband, on the Tower Hill, and great execution shall be done this week, as well in London as in all other places where the rebels dwelt. This day my Lord of Devonshire * was sent to the Tower, with a great company of the guard. My Lady Elizabeth was sent for three days ago, but as yet she is not come, whatsoever the let is.

This day my Lord Fitzwalter † was dispatched towards the Emperor's Court, accompanied with half a score gentlemen and their servants.

I intend about the 20th day of this month to set forward towards your Lordship (if I hear not the contrary from you) by the grace of God, who send your Lordship long life, with much honour.

* Edward Courtenay, lately restored (*see No. II. in this reign*) to his father's dignity of Earl of Devonshire. Wyat, in hopes of obtaining a pardon, had charged him with a design to marry Elizabeth, and to usurp the throne, but retracted in his dying declaration ; yet the Princess was committed to the Tower on the 18th of March, and remained a prisoner there, and in other places, as well as the Earl, till April in the following year. This nobleman (to whom our historians erroneously give the title of Marquis of Exeter) was eldest son of Henry Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter and Earl of Devon, who was beheaded in 1539—40.

† Thomas Ratcliffe, Lord Fitzwalter, afterwards Earl of Sussex (*see papers passim.*)

From London, the 12th day of February,

By your Lordship's servant,

ROBT, SWYFT.⁴

*To the right honourable my Lord and Master
the Earl of Shrewsbury, deliver these with
all speed, at York.*

No. VI.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. P. fol. 263. 1554.)

ROBERT SWYFT

TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

PLEASE it your Lordship to be advertised, that
according to your commandment, after your de-

* The family of Swyft, or Swift, had served the Earls of Shrewsbury for several years, as agents for their Yorkshire estates. Robert Swift, a native of the county of Durham, who settled in Yorkshire in consequence of his marriage with Anne, the daughter of William Taylor of Sheffield, and widow of a brewer in London, who had left her great wealth, was employed by the late Earl in that capacity. He lived at Rotherham, and is buried in the church there, with the following inscription, in a better style than we usually meet with in the epitaphs of that day: "Here under this tomb is placed and buried the bodies of Robert Swift, Esq. and Anne his first wife, who lived many years in this town of Rotherham, in virtuous fame, great wealth, and good worship. They were pitiful to the poor, and relieved them, and to their friends no less faithful than bountiful: truly they feared God, who plentifully poured his blessings upon them. The said Anne died in the month of June, in the year of our Lord God 1539, in the 67th year of her age; and the said Robert departed the 8th of August, in the year of our Lord God 1561, in the 84th year of his age: on whose souls, and all Christian souls, the omnipotent Lord have mercy. Amen. *Respice Finem.*" Robert Swift, the son, who was the author of this and other letters in this collection so signed, was heir to his father, and after him Steward to the Earl of Shrewsbury. He considerably increased his large patrimony by trafficking in abbey lands after the dissolution, as well as by his marriage with Ellen, daughter and heir to Nicholas Wickersley, of Wickersley in Yorkshire, by whom he had three daughters;

ture I went unto my Lord Treasurer with your Lordship's acquittance for your £100 ; and, when I read it, he said that would do him no pleasure less he had a special warrant from the Queen. answered him to that as I thought requisite ; & thereupon he commanded me to give my attendance on the day following, and he would move the whole Council for a special warrant to be directed to him for the payment of the said sum unto your Lordship, and, further, shew them that you d left a servant here for the receipt thereof ; & when I came unto his Lordship on the other y, he willed me to come unto him on the morrow ; and so every day, from morrow to morrow, commands me to wait upon him, and nothing ne in the matter ; so that hitherto I can do thing but wait upon his Lordship. I delivered n your rental of your tenements in London, & he said he would do the best he could in at matter.

ances, married to Sir Francis Leake, of Sutton in Derbyshire ; Mary, to Francis Wortley, of Wortley ; and Anne, to Richard Bampfylde, of Broomhall, both in Yorkshire. These coheiresses carried considerable estates into the families of their respective husbands, but much of their father's property went by entail to William, his younger brother, whose descendant, Barnham Swift, was created Viscount Carlingford, of Ireland, and left an only daughter, Mary, his heir, who in the decline of life married a person much younger than herself, and well known in the gay Court of Charles II. by the appellation of Beau, or Handsome Fielding ; who, after her death in 1682, sold and dissipated the whole fortune of the Swift family. These particulars were obtained from the MS. collection of my valuable and ingenious friend J. C. Coke, Esq., Somerset Herald, and F. S. A. to whom I am indebted for several other communications relative to Yorkshire families.

Upon Tuesday in Whitsun week came the ~~—~~ bishop of Norwich to the court: upon Wednesday ~~—~~, the day following, came over the ancient ambassador,* with grey beard, that was here when the ~~—~~ King died; and, as the bruit goes, he shall be Marshal, and execute martial laws of all strangers ~~—~~ that shall come in. He escaped the Frenchmen ~~—~~ very hard; on the morrow, seven of his ships ~~—~~ wherein his horses and his stuff were, the Frenchmen had, and he himself, being in a small pinnace, escaped. Upon Thursday, the day following, both he and the rest of the Emperor's ambassadors came to the court, and spoke with the Queen. On Friday, the day following, William Thomas was hanged, drawn, and quartered, at Tyburn. On Saturday, at one o'clock in the afternoon, my Lady Elizabeth was delivered out of the Tower by my Lord Treasurer, and my Lord Chamberlain, and went to Richmond† by water forthwith ere she landed; where she shall be attended upon by sundry of guard, and some officers of every office in the Queen's house, but how long she shall continue there I know not.

And thus I humbly take my leave of your

* Don Juan Figneroa, a Spaniard of high rank, sent by the Emperor to be present at the nuptials of Philip and Mary, and to make a formal resignation to them, in his name, of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, both which ceremonies were performed at Winchester on the 25th of July following. The rumour that it was intended to appoint him Marshal, &c. proceeded, no doubt, from the unfavourable opinion which the English had formed of their new master, and their prejudices against a Spanish government.

† On her way to the old palace of Woodstock, where she remained in confinement till the end of April, in the next year.

Lordship. From London, this Sunday, the 20th
of May.

Your Lordship's servant,

ROBT. SWYFT.

To my Lord.

No. VII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. C. fol. 47.)

LORD CONYERS

TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

PLEASE it your honourable Lordship to be advertised, that having received intelligence from Scotland, from certain my spies there, that the Scottish Queen * doth intend before the latter end

* Mary, daughter of Claude Duke of Guise, married by James V. late King of Scotland, when widow of Louis of Orleans, Duke of Longueville. After the death of the Cardinal, this lady, whose character displays all the ambition of her family, interfered openly in the management of affairs, and stood forward to support the French interest, which had lost so firm a friend in that Prelate. The terrible defeat at Musselborough had enlarged, even to antipathy, the breach between the English and the Scots; and the latter, from motives rather of malice than policy, had betrothed their young Queen to the Dauphin, and voluntarily made the sovereignty of their country, which had withstood the attempts of England for some centuries, an eventual appendage to the Crown of France. Arran, the Regent, having accepted a pension, and the title of Duke of Chatelherault in that kingdom, became an agent for the house of Lorraine; and England, plagued by divided counsels for some time before the death of Edward VI. was no longer an object of dread. Under these circumstances, the Queen Dowager prevailed on the Regent to resign his office, and on the Parliament to appoint her to succeed him. She was invested with the guardianship of the realm, and its infant Monarch, June 20, 1555.

A short interval of national tranquillity, then unusual in Scotland, induced the new Regent to open her plans with too little precaution. She placed several of her countrymen in distinguished offices of state; and, having vainly attempted the unpopular mea-

of this instant June to make her repair unto these ~~—~~
 the East borders and confines of Scotland; and ~~—~~
 for the more certainty thereof, I am assured that ~~—~~
 her provision is there made accordingly; but to ~~—~~
 what purpose her coming is, I am not as yet surely ~~—~~
 advertised; but, as she doth alledge, the same ~~—~~
 is only for justice's sake, and to minister the same ~~—~~
 unto such evil doers on the borders of Scotland as ~~—~~
 do go about to break the peace and amity between ~~—~~

sure of establishing a kind of standing army, introduced a body of French troops, commanded by d'Oisel, whose name (mis-spelt Dowcell, Docell, and Docye, &c.) frequently occurs in following papers. The first service in which she employed these exhibited an equal proof of her blind attachment to her own country, and her inattention to the interests of that which had lately been committed to her charge. They were placed on the borders, with directions to provoke the English to hostilities by repeated insults, in order to prevent, in some measure, the aid which Philip, now engaged in a war with France, expected to derive from his newly acquired kingdom. At length, by rebuilding a small fort which had been demolished in compliance with the last treaty, they tempted the garrison of Berwick to make a vigorous sally, and the Scots of the adjacent country flew to their arms with their usual ardour. Such circumstances ten years before would probably have produced a bloody contest; but the English, who had now adopted a pacific system, contented themselves with preventing the intended fortification; and the Scots, jealous of their new comrades, shewed no disposition to join them in an unnecessary breach of the peace. Soon after, however, the French proceeded to a more open attempt; they crossed the Tweed, and regularly besieged Wark castle. But the Scots here flatly refused to act with them; and, the nobility remonstrating, even with fierceness, the Queen was at length obliged to disband her forces for her own personal safety. Experience having thus discovered the impolicy of these violent measures, Mary proceeded to forward her favourite views more effectually, by the marriage of her daughter, which was solemnized in France, April 14, 1558.

This short account of the most material affairs of Scotland, in which this country was concerned under Edward VI. and Mary, may afford some assistance to the reader in the perusal of many succeeding papers of this reign.

the realms. But, whatsoever her intent is, I trust, by the grace of God, with the small power I have, to put myself in such readiness, as for the sudden, as her purpose so were, that she and her force should be resisted. And, if need shall further require, I do intend, as my duty is, to send unto your Lordship, being Lord Lieutenant in these parts, for such aid and relief as occasion shall serve; wherefore I have thought good hereof to give your good Lordship advertisement, to the end that, if such sudden chance, upon request I may have in readiness such relief by your Lordship appointed as shall be meet and convenient. And so, trusting therein, I commit your good Lordship unto the preservation of Almighty God, who send the same so much increase of honour as your noble heart can desire.

From the Queen's Majesty's town of Berwick,
the 6th of June, 1554.

Your good Lordship's, most assuredly,

JOHN CONYERS.*

*To the right honourable and my singular
good Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury,
Lord Lieutenant in these North Parts,
give these.*

* John Lord Conyers, eldest son of Christopher, the second Lord, by Anne, daughter of William Lord Dacre of the North. This nobleman, who was bred a soldier, accompanied the Earl of Hertford into Scotland in 1544, and was knighted at Leith, when

No. VIII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. C. fol. 83.)

LORDS OF THE COUNCIL
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

AFTER our right hearty commendations. According to our promise to your good Lordship at your departure hence, we have thought good to communicate unto you such good news as whereof we have received of late advertisement.

Portohercole* (being such a place in Italy of succour, as for the Turk's purpose, and the Frenchmen, was marvelously of them esteemed and set by) is lately won by the Emperor, and four forts round about it; which is a matter of great importance,

it surrendered to the English. In 1551 he was appointed Warden of the West Marches, and Governor of Carlisle; and in 1553, Warden of the East Marches, and Governor of Berwick. He died June 8, 1556, without issue male; leaving by his wife Maud Clifford, daughter of Henry Earl of Cumberland, three daughters, his co-heirs: Anne, married to Antony Kemp, of Ollantigh, in Kent; Elizabeth, to Thomas, son of Sir Arthur Darcy, Knight; and Katherine, to John Atherton, of Atherton in Lancashire. Of which ladies only Elizabeth leaving issue, the estate, and magnificent castle of Hornby, near Richmond, in Yorkshire, which was built by William, first Lord Conyers, and is called from its fine situation, the Windsor of the North, descended to the Darcys; and are now in the possession of his Grace the Duke of Leeds, whose eldest son bears the title of Lord Conyers, and is the heir general of the family, through his late mother, Amelia, only daughter of Robert Darcy, last Earl of Holderness.

* A port town of Tuscany, now subject to Sicily.

especially if it may be kept from being recovered again of the Turks. In the valiant assault of one of the said forts were slain at least 500 Frenchmen, and the Allemaynes put the said Portohercole in such a fear as at only the sight of the approaching of the Emperor's army they yielded at discretion, and the whole blame hereof imputed by them to the cowardice of Pietro Strozzi, whose forsaking of them, and carrying away with him three or four of the best captains, put them altogether in despair. After this news almost immediately came other also very good ; conveying, in effect, that, beside the distress of another number of Frenchmen upon the river of Poho, lately done by the Marquis of Pescara, there have been 300 men at arms also slain and taken by the Imperials in Piedmont, under the conduct of the said Marquis, after the coming into those parts of the Duke of Alva, whom we understand to be presently arrived at Milan. And, besides that, we hear say that the Genoese are like to be again masters in Corsica. We are credibly advertised, moreover, that the Knights of the religion of St. John, at Malta, have lately sunk three of the Turk's galleys, and taken five others besides. We have news, also, out of India, that where, one being a subject of the Emperor's and the King's Majesty there, and having revolted against them in those parts, with such power as he could gather together, he himself, and all his are now overthrown, and those countries reduced again into good order

and quietness ; from whence are lately arrived three millions of gold.

The King and Queen's Majesty's Ambassadors* that went to Rome, having obtained at length their dispatch, are now coming thence, and took their journey homewards the 20th of the last. All which news being so good, and of such weight as they are, like as we could not but make you partaker of them (and shall desire your Lordship to signify the same unto the Wardens, and other of the King and Queen's Highness's officers in those parts, such as you think good) so, hearing of late a great bruit of the King of Denmark's navy, which we hear say to be arrived in Scotland, we have thought good, their exploit being so doubtful as it is, to desire your Lordship to learn what you can may be thereby intended, at the hands of the said Wardens ; who, being nearer, may, by their diligent espialls, and other means, procure some knowledge of this matter, and advertise you thereof accordingly ; and what certainty your Lordship shall know in this behalf, we doubt not but that you will signify the same unto us also with all convenient speed. Thus we bid your good Lordship most heartily well to fare. From Hampton Court, the 11th of July, 1555.

* Thirleby, Bishop of Ely, Sir Anthony Browne, and Edward Carne, LL.D., who had been sent to Rome towards the end of the last year, to notify the obedience of England to the Apostolic See.

Your good Lordship's assured loving friends,

STEPHEN WINTON, Cancel. Wm. PAGET.

ROBT. ROCHESTER.* Wm. PETRES.

E. WALDEGRAVE.† Jo. BOURNE.‡

*To our very good Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury,
Lord President of the King and Queen's
Majesty's Council in the North. — Haste,
haste, post, haste, with all diligence. dd. at
Hampton Court the 11th of July, at 5 of
the clock in the afternoon.*

* Sir Robert Rochester, K.G. son of Sir John Rochester, of Tarning, in Essex (in which parish his family had possessed estates for near three hundred years) by Grisel, daughter and coheir of Walter Writtell. He had been a principal officer of Mary's little household during the late reign, in the last year of which he was committed to the Tower for refusing to communicate to his mistress the injunctions of the Privy Council respecting divine worship in her family. At her accession she recompenced him for this and some other hardships which he had undergone, in consequence of his fidelity to her, by bestowing on him the order of the Garter, and the appointments of Comptroller of the Household, and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, in which offices he died, November 28, 1557. Sir Robert Rochester's marriage is not recorded; but it appears that he left daughters, styled co-heirs, one of whom married John Humfrey, of Topefield, in Essex.

† Sir Edward Waldegrave, Knight; ancestor of the present noble family of that name; Knight of the Shire for the county of Somerset; Master of the Great Wardrobe; and, after the death of his uncle, Sir Robert Rochester, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. His rigid adherence to Popery advanced him in this reign and pulled him down in the next, for he died a prisoner in the Tower, September 1, 1561.

‡ Sir John Bourne, Knight; one of Mary's principal Secretaries. We have scarcely any intelligence from history concerning this minister. He was a bigotted Papist, to which he probably owed his share of the Queen's confidence; and was one of the twenty-one persons appointed by her commission of Feb. 8, 1556—7, to proceed against the Protestants; in the execution of which charge, he distinguished himself by his persecution of the amiable Bishop Sandys. He seems to have been the founder of his family, for no pedigree of it is to be met with in the visita-

No. IX.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. C. fol. 51.)

LORD CONYERS
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

PLEASETH it your honourable Lordship to be advertised that, the 14th of this instant, I, and the Lord Yester, Warden of the Middle March of Scotland, held a day of March at Ridingborne, where we made good redress, and on either party had delivery for 15 or 16 bills. And, so far as I can learn, the Scottish Queen does greatly desire that justice be ministered on the borders. And, for the more appearance thereof, since her repair to Jedworth, I do well understand that she has called before her divers of the most and greatest falters both of Teviotdale and the March, and doth punish them in ward; so that by my intelligence I cannot wit that she means any thing at

tions, and he had a grant of arms in 1553. Be this as it may, he left great estates in Worcestershire, which were sold by his eldest son, mostly to the Lord Chancellor Bromley, some of whose descendants yet remain in that county. It appears by his funeral certificate that he died at his house, Holt Castle, in Worcestershire, May 13, 1575; leaving issue by his wife, Dorothy, daughter of John Hornehold, Anthony Bourne, his son and heir, who married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Edmund Horne, of Sarsden in Oxfordshire; Charles; Elizabeth, wife of George Winter, of Hoddington, in the county of Worcester; Margaret, married to William Clark; Persyda; and Anne.

time towards these pieces, saving only the administration of her laws, and the pacifying of the adly feuds which are amongst divers surnaines her borders.

And, further, it may please your Lordship, that, as I am informed, there is a great contention and debate arisen between Donald Mackonnye, Lord of the Isles of Scotland, and the Earl of Argyle's father-in-law, called James Cannowe; and there have been between them divers affrays, and many men on both parts slain; and as yet the same does not cease, but still, with certain boats passing between the islands there, does work the one upon the other, although for the pacifying o the matter, the Queen sent thither the Earl of Argyle's son, who is returned again, not being able to do any good therein; whereupon she has also sent the Earl himself, trusting that by his means they will be quieted. The which intelligence I have, thought good to participate unto your Lordship, as I shall all other from time to time: as knoweth Almighty God, who preserve your good Lordship, and send the same much increase of honor. From the Queen's Majesty's town of Berwick, the 19th of July, 1554.

Your good Lordship's most assuredly,

JOHN CONYERS.

To the right honorable and my singular
Good Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury,
Lord President of the Council in
these North parts; in haste; haste
post, haste, with all diligence haste.

No. X.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. C. fol. 59.)

LORD CONYERS

TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

PLEASETH it your Lordship to be advertised that on the 22nd of this instant July the Scots Queen departed from Jedworth, and did come the same night unto Kelsay ; the next night to Home Castle ; and so along the borders unto Langton, Taymouth, Dunbar, and Addington ; and hath travelled very earnestly to bring her subjects into amity and love one with another ; and hath taken of divers surnames pledges for the observing and keeping of good rule ; as the Carrs, the Scots, with divers others ; whereby there may be knit friendship one with another. And for the redress of these Marches between me and the Wardens of Scotland I am well answered, and as to equity and justice doth appertain ; and so good delivery made on both parties as was done this great while.

And so (trusting the two prisoners which I sent unto your Honor by my servants be safely conveyed unto your person, according to their charge, which they had given by me at their departure from hence) I commit the same to the conservation of Almighty God, who send the same so much increase of honor, as your noble heart can desire.

From the Queen's Majesty's town of Berwick,
the 28th of July, 1554.

Your good Lordship's to command,
JOHN CONYERS.

*To the right honorable and my singular good Lord,
the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord President of the
Council established in the North Parts.*

No. XI.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. C. fol. 111.)

LORD WHARTON
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

PLEASED your most honorable Lordship to be advertised that this Sunday, in the morning, I have received a letter from my Lord Conyers, the copy whereof I send your Lordship. My Lord, I called on Ralph Gray of Chillingham,* and Hebburn, for their services on the Middle Marches, as his Lordship writes; and, being credibly informed with discreet gentlemen that their houses stand within the said Middle Marches, I must and will call upon them for their services to be done, under the King and Queen's Majesties' commission directed unto me for that office. Gray and Hebburn would not deny upon Wednesday last, before a number of gentlemen and me, but their chief houses of Chillingham and Hebburn, where they both dwell, stand within the Middle Marches. Reason and duty requires, in good subjects, the advancement of services, and not to seek these

* Whose heir-general is the present Earl of Tankerville, who is in the possession of the castle and estate of Chillingham.

troublous lets, which must be reformed as to the right of the cause appertains. If all the three Marches be well considered, the Middle is the greatest charge, and hath most need of worthy men to serve, whatsoever my Lord Conyers writeth upon information; and to this effect I will write to him. And Almighty God send unto your Lordship most long continuance in honor. At Morpeth, the 4th day of August, 1555.

Your Lordship's at commandment.

THOMAS WHARTON.*

*To the right hon. and my singular good
Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord
President of the King and Queen's
Majesty's Council established in
the North. Haste post, haste.*

* Thomas, first Lord Wharton; son of Thomas Wharton, of Wharton Castle, on the river Eden, by Anne, daughter of Reginald Warcup. He was bred from his childhood to the profession of arms, and appears never to have deviated into any civil employment. In 1542 he was appointed Governor of the Castle of Carlisle; and in the next year, being then Warden of the West Marches, defeated the Scottish invaders at Solway Moss, to the number of 15,000, himself leading only 300 men. In 1545 he invaded Scotland in concert with Lord Dacre; and, having taken Dumfries, obliged the Scots to agree to a treaty, for the performance whereof on their part several persons of rank were delivered as hostages. These services, and the success of a new incursion which he made with the young Earl of Lennox, procured him the honour of a writ of summons to parliament as a Baron of England in the first year of Edward VI., after which we find him only in his garrisons. On the 30th of July, 1556, he was constituted Warden of the Middle Marches; and on the 16th of December following, General Warden of all the Marches towards Scotland, and Governor of Berwick. We have little information concerning this nobleman but from public instruments. His following letters will probably furnish more of his history than has hitherto appeared.

Lord Wharton died August 23, 1568, having been twice married. First, to Eleanor, daughter of Bryan Stapleton, of Wighill,

No. XII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. C. fol. 121.)

LORD WHARTON
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

PLEASE your most honourable Lordship to be advertised that, hearing by report this 14th of August that your Lordship intends to make your repair through Westmorland towards York, I am sorry that my house of Wharton is not in a readiness for your Lordship's lodging. I beseech your Lordship to take some sport of my little ground there, and to command the same even as your Lordship's own. My Lady may shoot with her cross-bow, and your Lordship may see coursing with all your greyhounds. Though the game be poor, yet it shall be my comfort that your Lordship will use the same to your pleasure: my son Musgrave can be your Lordship's guide, though he be no good hunter. And Almighty God send unto your Lordship most long and honourable life, to his pleasure and yours. At the King and Queen's Majesty's Castle of Alnwick, the 14th of August at night, 1555.

Postscript. I hear by report that John Maxwell, the Lairds Johnston and Dumlanrig, should

in Yorkshire, by whom he had Thomas, his successor (ancestor of that extraordinary person Philip, Duke of Wharton, at whose death in 1731 the line became extinct) and Henry; and two daughters; Joan, wife of William Pennington, of Muncaster in Cumberland; and Anne, married to Sir Richard Musgrave, of Harcla Castle in Westmorland. His second wife was Anne, daughter of George Earl of Shrewsbury, by whom he had no issue.

all be in trouble, at the Queen Dowager's of Scotland commandment.

Your Lordship's at commandment,

THOMAS WHARTON.

*To the right honourable my singular good Lord
the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord President of
the King and Queen's Majesties' honourable
Council in the North. Haste post, haste post,
haste with diligence.*

No. XIII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. C. fol. 139.)

SIR WILLIAM PETRE

TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

AFTER my humble commendations unto your good Lordship. This bearer, your servant, bringing unto you the Queen's Majesty's letters for your licence to be absent from the Parliament, I thought good also by these few lines to signify unto your Lordship that her Majesty is very sorry for this your sickness, and trusts that, giving yourself well to the recovery of your health, you shall, by God's grace, shortly grow strong again. In your proxy her Majesty prays you to name the Lord Montague, and Bishop of Ely, jointly and severally.*

For the matter you wrote me, to have one of the Council there in Mr. Chaloner's place; my Lords have not yet resolved, nor moved the Queen's Majesty; and therefore nothing could be

* We have here a curious anecdote for parliamentary history. It may be fairly inferred from the manner in which this request is here made, and the terms in which the Earl mentions it in the next letter, that it was not an uncommon one in those days.

pointly answered therein. If in anything I may do your Lordship service, you may always command me. From Greenwich, this 25th of Sept. 1555.

Your good Lordship's to command,
WILLIAM PETRE.

*To the right honourable and my very good Lord
the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord President of
the Council in the North, and of the King
and Queen's Majesties' Privy Council.*

No. XIV.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. C. fol. 157.)

THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY

TO —————

My very good Lord,

After my most hearty commendations to your good Lordship. Where it hath pleased the Queen's Majesty, of her accustomed goodness, and in consideration of my sickness wherewith I have been lately evil vexed, and my continuing imbecility by the reason thereof, to license me by her gracious letters to be absent from this Parliament for this winter season; and, likewise, by the same, has commanded me to assign my proxy to some such noblemen of honour there as in this mine absence might condescend mine agreement, and give my voice to such things as in the said Parliament shall be treated and agreed upon; these shall be to signify unto your good Lordship that I have so done accordingly, and sent the same by my son, this bearer; to whom I heartily beseech your Lordship to be good Lord, and, likewise,

that it will please you to give credit to the same. And thus I beseech Almighty God to send you, my very good Lord, as good and short recovery of your health as I would have myself. From Sheffield, the 13th day of October, 1555.

No. XV.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. C. fol. 175.)

JOHN CRYCHE
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

PLEASE it your good Lordship to be advertised that I have received your Lordship's letters by John Skafe; being very desirous to know your further pleasure in all such matters as I have ascertained your Lordship of in my letters, so that I might make the better expedition in all things accordingly. I have spoken with Mr. Gunter for eight pieces of green seyes, which he cannot yet well come by, but he has sent unto Norwich, thinking to be sped there very shortly. He willed me to know your Lordship's pleasure (for that it will be hard to get eight pieces fit for the purpose) if that your Lordship would have any other kind of hangings to furnish forth the lack of the seyes. I have received £26 for the fee of Chamberlainship, and trust shortly to receive the other two fees, which amount to £109. 13s. 3d.; for Mr. Fawnshaw has promised me that he will make such provision as is possible to be made for the obtaining of the same, by one mean or other. Mr. Honnings has been with me, and is very desirous to hear from

your Lordship. Also the sadler is very earnest to have money for the horse-litter ; howbeit I have the payment thereof until I know further of your Lordship's pleasure.

I can at this time ascertain your Lordship of no news, but that Mr. Ridley and Mr. Latimer are burnt at Oxford,* who died in like manner as others heretofore have done. Thus, beseeching your Lordship to pardon my hasty writing for lack of time, I pray God to keep your good Lordship in long health, and honour. From London, the last day of October, 1555.

Your Lordship's humble and obedient servant,

JOHN CRYCHE.

To my Lord.

No. XVI.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. E. fol. 49. 1555.)

**LORD TALBOT
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.**

Most humbly beseeching your Lordship's blessing: may it please your Lordship that the cause of my writing at this time is for that it should not seem for nor like of duty more than

the advertisement to your Lordship. This day, being All-Souls' day, there is a subsidy granted in the Lower House to the Queen's Majesty, and the saying is it is from £5 upwards, 4s. in the pound, to be levied in two years; and where the Common House would have granted her since

* On the 16th.

two fifteens, she has of her liberality refused it, and says she will not take any more of them at this time. And for my suit which it pleased your Lordship to make to the Queen's Majesty, as yet I have no answer, but so soon as I know I shall send your Lordship immediately word. And to ascertain your Lordship what bills are past in the Lords' House; as yet there are none past, but I think there will a bill pass on Tuesday, touching the enclosure of the frontiers foranenst Scotland; and, as yet, there are no more bills put to engrossing. Other bills, there have been ready; one touching the Duchess of Suffolk,* and others who have gone beyond the seas without license; that if they come not home by a day appointed, the Queen's Majesty shall have the benefit of their livings during their abode forth of the realm. I could advertise your Lordship of three or four more bills, but I omit the declaration till I see how they go forward; and as occurrences come to my knowledge, I shall not fail, according to my duty, to certify your Lordship accordingly. And thus

To the right honourable and my very good
Lord and father the Earl of Shrews-
bury, give this.

G. TALBOT.

* Frances, widow of Henry Grey Duke of Suffolk, after whose execution she withdrew herself out of the realm. Her name was particularly inserted in this act, perhaps in order to disguise its peculiar tendency, which was to prevent the daily emigrations of the Protestants.

No. XVII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. C. fol. 187.)

THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY
TO SIR HENRY SAVILE.

AFTER my hearty commendations, these shall be to signify unto you that I have received your letters, by my servant, the Bailiff of Rotherham,* with examinations of certain persons for counterfeiting the King and Queen's Majesty's coin. For your diligence and pains therein I give you my most hearty thanks ; and, for the committing of them to the gaol, I refer that to your discretion, to commit such of them as you shall think meet ; and to take order with the rest, not so committed, for their personal appearance at the next gaol delivery, and at all other times when they shall be commanded. And as touching Robert Savile, I send two several letters to be served upon him, for his immediate appearance before me, which, as I understand, as yet is not executed ; perceiving by your letters you have better knowledge of his being than I have, I send unto you here enclosed the King and Queen's Majesty's letters for his appearance forthwith before me ; I pray you to get the same served accordingly. And thus I pray God send you well to do. From Sheffield, the 9th of November, 1555.

Sir Henry Savile.

* The manor of Rotherham, near Sheffield, was part of the Talbot estates in Yorkshire which fell to Alathea, Countess of Arundel. Henry, sixth Duke of Norfolk, settled it upon his second Duchess (Jane Bickerton) and her issue male ; and Lord Frederick, her third son, left it to the Effingham branch, in which it remains.

No. XVIII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. C. fol. 191.)

JOHN CRYCHE
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

PLEASE it your Lordship to be advertised that as yet I cannot obtain the rest of your Lordship's fees, howbeit I trust I shall have it shortly, for Fawnshaw has promised to help with all the speed possible for the obtaining of the same. Mr. Rokeby would have your Lordship to sue forth the certiorari for the prisoner at Nottingham from the Justices in the court there, and so to remove him at your pleasure; for it is not, as he says, to be sued forth here. As for other of your Lordship's business, Mr. Long can instruct you of better than I by writing.

My Lord of Winchester,* whose soul God pardon, is departed, and his bowels were buried at St. Mary Overy's in Southwark, but his body, as the saying is, shall be carried to Winchester, to be buried there. What time he departed is not yet certainly known, but most men say he died on Tuesday, at night, being the 12th day of this instant, about two o'clock after midnight, at Westminster, and was brought in his barge thence to his house in Southwark.† Thus I beseech Almighty God to prosper your good Lordship long, in honour and

* Bishop Gardiner. He died on the 12th of November.

† A house belonging to the see; the grounds about which, long since covered with buildings, are still called Winchester Park.

health. From London, the 14th day of November, 1555.

Your Lordship's humble and obedient Servant,
JOHN CRYCHE.

To my Lord.

No. XIX.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. C. fol. 203.)

SIR THOMAS GARGRAVE
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

Right honourable, and my singular good Lord,
It may please the same to be advertised that I trust the Parliament * will end this week, for now that the bill for first fruits and tenths is past the Commons House, I trust there is nothing else that will be any stay. My Lord Talbot told me that he trusted my Lady of Northumberland should do well in her suite. It is said the King's Majesty returneth not until after Christmas, nor as yet I know not where the Queen's Grace will keep her Christmas, but at the end of the Parliament, as I hear, she removes to Greenwich. My Lord Archbishop of York has not yet received the bulls from Rome, and he does continue President in Wales, and no other appointed. It is not yet known who shall be Lord Chancellor, Lord Privy

* This was the fourth Parliament of this reign. It was remarkable for the restitution of the Crown impropriations, and the first fruits and tenth's, to the clergy, which was done at Mary's express request, and affords a stronger proof of her bigotry than the burning of thousands. This measure met with much opposition in both Houses; the Members dreading that the lay impropriations, most of which were in their hands, might follow; and foreseeing the hatred which they were likely to incur by keeping their share of the spoil, after suffering the Queen to relinquish hers.

Seal, Bishop of Canterbury, nor Bishop of Winchester. My Lord Cardinal* lies much at the court. It is said that there are divers evil books cast by night in the city, conveyed from beyond the seas, but I have not seen any of them as yet. And thus, trusting shortly to wait on your Lordship, I humbly take my leave of the same, beseeching our Lord God long to preserve your good Lordship in health, with much increase of honour. At Hoddesden, the 4th of Dec. 1555.

Your good Lordship's humbly to command,

THOMAS GARGRAVE.

Postscripta. The commission for the subsidy shall come forth immediately.

*To the right honourable and his singular good
Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Presi-
dent of the King's and Queen's Majesties'
Council in the North parts.*

No. XX.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. C. fol. 229.)

LORDS OF THE COUNCIL
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

AFTER our right hearty commendations to your good Lordship. Whereas we have been lately informed that certain lewd persons, to the number of six or seven in a company, naming themselves to be servants unto Sir Francis Leek, and wearing his livery, and badge on their sleeves, have wandered about those North parts, and represented certain

* Cardinal Pole, who had returned to England a few months before to assist in restoring the old religion. He was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury on the 22nd of March following, the next day after Cranmer's execution. Some historians erroneously state that the Cardinal was in possession of this dignity at the opening of the Parliament in October.

plays and interludes, containing very naughty and seditious matter touching the King and Queen's Majesties, and the state of the realm, and to the slander of Christ's true and Catholic religion, contrary to all good order, and to the manifest contempt of Almighty God, and dangerous example of others; we have thought mete to pray your Lordship to give order forthwith unto all the Justices of the Peace within your rule that from henceforth they do in no wise suffer any plays, interludes, songs, or any such like pastimes whereby the people may any ways be stirred to disorder, to be used by any manuer of persons, or under any colour or pretence, within the limits of your charge. Praying you also not only to write unto Sir Francis Leek, willing him to cause the said players that name themselves his servants to be sought for, and sent forthwith unto you, to be farther examined, and ordered according to their deserts, but also to give him strait charge and commandment, in their Majesty's names, that he suffer not any of his servants hereafter to go about the country, and use any plays, songs, or interludes, as he will answer for the contrary. And in case any person shall attempt to set forth these sort of games or pastimes at any time hereafter, contrary to this order; and do wander, for that purpose, abroad in the country; your Lordship shall do well to give the Justices of the Peace in charge to see them apprehended out of hand, and punished as vagabonds, by virtue of the statute made against loitering and idle persons. And thus we bid your good Lordship most heartily well

to fare. From St. James's, the 30th of April, 1556.

Your good Lordship's assured loving friends,
 NICO. EBOR, Canc.* Jo. BOURNE.
 HENRY SUSSEX. † JOHN MORDAUNT. ‡
 WILLIAM PETRES. ARUNDEL.
 WILLIAM — THOMAS ELY. §
 WINCHESTER. THOS. WHARTON.
 PEMBROKE.

*To our very good Lord, the Earl of Shrewsbury,
 President of the King and Queen's Majesties'
 Council in the North. Haste, haste post, haste,
 haste, haste, with all diligence possible.*

* Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York; a rigid Catholic, but a person distinguished by the mildness and humanity of his conduct. He was born in London, and bred at Cambridge, where he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity. We find him the King's Almoner in 1539, in which year he was consecrated Bishop of Llandaff, whence he was translated successively to Rochester and Worcester, and was deprived of the latter under Edward VI. for refusing to take the oath of supremacy. Mary restored him to his Bishoprick; made him Lord President of Wales; and, in 1555, Archbishop of York; to which see, the revenues of which had been grievously diminished by the negligence or servility of some of his predecessors, he retrieved many of its estates. He was appointed Lord Chancellor upon the death of Gardiner, and held that high office till the conclusion of this reign; when, having most readily proposed Elizabeth to the Parliament as successor to the Throne, he voluntarily resigned the seals, and, submitting to the sentence of deprivation with the utmost patience, retired to his manor of Cobham in Surrey, "where," says Camden, "the Queen, with whom he was in great grace, visited him many times with marvellous kindness." He died in 1566.

† Henry Ratcliffe, Earl of Sussex, Viscount and Baron Fitzwalter, &c., and Knight of the Garter and Bath; eldest son of Robert, the first Earl of the family, by Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham. He was bred to the profession of arms, and commanded 1600 demi-lances in the expedition into Scotland in the first of Edward VI. where he gained some credit. After that Prince's death, he supported Mary's title with great zeal, and was appointed by her Commander in Chief of the

No. XXI.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. C. fol. 249.)

LORD WHARTON
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

Right honourable, and my singular good Lord,
WITH my due commendation, it may please your
Lordship to understand that this 14th has been
with me at Aluwick the Justices of the Peace of
the county of Northumberland, and we have ordered
the watch of beacons for the sea, according to the
King and Queen's Majesty's letters addressed unto
us from your Lordship.

The Scots made end of their Parliament, the
9th. The Dowager, in her own person, gave
thanks to all their body of the Parliament, and

temporary army raised in the beginning of her reign, and Justice
of the Forests south of Trent. She likewise dignified him, by a
patent under the Great Seal, with the privilege of wearing his hat
in her presence; employed him in some embassies of no great
moment; and entrusted him with the direction of the numerous
spies and informers who were distributed in his counties for the
purpose of detecting the Protestants, his activity in executing
which charge hath left a stain on his character. He died, if we
may credit the inscription on an engraved portrait of him, July 5,
1556, but, according to Dugdale, Feb. 17, 1556—7; and was bur-
ried in the church of St. Laurence Poultney, but afterwards re-
moved to the family vault, at Boreham in Essex; leaving nothing
very memorable in his history, except the honour of having been
father to that ornament of nobility, Thomas, his successor, the
eldest of his three sons by his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter of
Duke of Norfolk. By his second, Anne, daughter of Sir Philip
Calthorpe, from whom he was divorced, he had Egremond, who
was put to death at Namur, for conspiring to assassinate Don John
of Austria; and Frances, married to Sir Thomas Mildmay, whose
descendants derived the Barony of Fitzwalter from that match.

† Sir John Mordaunt, K.B., son and heir of John, first Lord
Mordaunt of Turvey, from whom the Earl of Peterborough is
descended. He died about 1572.

§ Thomas Thirleby. *See foregoing papers.*

commended their considerations for the surety of their realm, which she did perceive they together minded ; and that which she had moved was rather of herself than of the French ; and, understanding their wise opinions, did commend them ; and upon Wednesday, before their breaking up, she, in a fair manner, though not well pleased, departed. Upon Thursday, the 12th, my deputies met the Earl Bothwell, at Ridingbourn ; and albeit the Queen sent from her Car, the Lord of Cessforth, and others, gentlemen, to furnish their power, yet such was used as my deputies was of more power than the Scots that day ; and with some ceremonies met, and, after strong talk in the beginning, appointed their syzars,* and proceeded to their former premises. I gave my deputies certain instructions, signed with my hand, for their order that day, which they shewed to the Scots, whereupon they continued together two days, until they had filed for the subjects of another realm twenty-one attemptats.† The deputies appointed to meet at the same place, and to make deliverance the Thursday in Whitsun week next, and to continue till the said twenty-one attemptats are delivered for on either side. We have of the greatest attemptats against us filed. It was then appointed and agreed, upon mine instructions, that a day of march should also be kept at Hepthgaythed the second of June.

* Or Assizers—Jurors.

† From *attentat*, Fr. an outrageous assault—an encroachment. The term seems to have been peculiar to the Marches, and denoted the predatory attacks so frequently made by the borderers at that time.

I have presently received letters from the Lord Hume, tending to the good execution of the treaty within his Wardenry ; and upon Monday, the 18th, my deputies are appointed to meet him, or his deputies, at Coldstream. Now they begin to countenance again the manner of peace, otherwise than they have done these two months, notwithstanding their late brags and doings, wherein they have been somewhat met withal. And Almighty God send unto your Lordship most long and honourable life. At the King and Queen's Majesty's castle of Alnwick, the 13th of May, 1556.

Your Lordship's at commandment,

THOMAS WHARTON.

*To the right honourable and my very good Lord
the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Lieutenant
in the North.*

No. XXII.

(Talbot Papers, vol. P. fol. 279.)

ROBERT SWIFT
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

Pleaseth it your Lordship,
THE cause why I have been slow in writing unto you has been for that I would very gladly that my Lady Bray might have spoken with the Queen's Majesty before, whereby I should then the better have gathered what time her abode should have been here ; but as yet it will not be. Therefore your Lordship shall understand that the day after my

Lady's coming hither, which was Sunday, her Ladyship went to the Court, and there spake with the Comptroller, and delivered your letter ; who gave her very fair words, and made her fair promises ; and, in like case, with the Solicitor ; and they both promised her from day to day she should speak with the Queen ; but her Grace has never been in case to hear any suitors since Wednesday last, that Mr. Kemp came from the King's Grace, who, at the coming over of the Lord Privy Seal, was undoubtedly looked for here, at the uttermost, the last day of this instant June ; but now his Majesty hath deferred his coming for two months longer, which hath caused her Grace to write more since Wednesday, as it is thought than she did since she was Queen.

At my Lady's coming to London my Lord Bray * was in close imprisonment in the Fleet, and the Tuesday following he was removed to the Tower, and there remains in close imprisonment. Howbeit his friends are resolved to relieve him with meat and drink, which meat and drink is delivered at the Tower gate to one of the three gaolers, as they call them, appointed to serve and

* John, second and last Lord Bray, who married Anne, only daughter of Francis, Earl of Shrewsbury. Our historians slightly inform us that some persons were discovered at this time in a traitorous correspondence with France, and in a plot to rob the Exchequer, in order to furnish themselves with money to raise troops ; but Lord Bray is not mentioned, nor any of the parties whose names appear in this letter, which, however, certainly alludes to that conspiracy. He was probably imprisoned upon a false accusation ; for we find him, a few months after, among the English of distinction who were present at the seige of St. Quintin. He died in London, Nov. 18, 1558.

attend upon the prisoners there ; which relief by his own friends, as I can learn, does not exceed ; for almost every day some of his men who linger here in the town are coming to my Lady to beg some piece of meat for him, so that she is driven to relieve him now and then with some little thing, as her power will serve. I cannot perceive that his own friends do any thing for him to any purpose ; and, as to her, good woman, they offer her no gentleness, nor any thing towards her charges, but if they might be resolved, for that yet I see, could be contented to come and put her to charge daily.

Your Lordship shall also understand that my Lord Bray hath been very stout in his truth, with much desire that his accusers might be brought before his face ; so that of Saturday last, as I heard, his accusers and he were face to face before certain of the Commissioners ; and, as I hear, both Francis Verney and Edmund Verney have touched very sore ; and, as one told me in Westminster this day, that he should be indicted this present day, and shortly after arraigned, and if it be not for your Lordship's suit, and that of his wife, most like to suffer : and what he shall do God knows, but my Lady doth handle herself in her suits, as well to men as to women, as she is both more commended and lamented than all other suitors are ; yea, insomuch that the Queen, upon the report which she had heard of her Ladyship within this two days, gave her great praise, and earnestly said

that God sent oft times to good women evil husbands.

Your Lordship shall understand that there are certain Commissioners appointed to have the examination and hearing of all persons and matters touching this wonderful late conspiracy, and that is Mr. Comptroller, Mr. Inglefield, Mr. Waldegrave, Mr. Jerningham, Sir Edward Hastings, and the Solicitor ; and as for all other noble men, they meddle nothing; and if any suitors speak unto them, they wish them good speed, and say they meddle in no such matters, and will them to resort unto the Commissioners. On Tuesday last was arraigned and condemned at the Guildhall one Leukmore, the Groom Porter, Francis Verney, and Captain Turner ; and within these two days there will be another great arraignment there of others.

And what shall be now your further pleasure concerning my Lady Bray's suiting here, and for the discharge of her charges with her folks, I beseech your Lordship I may be advertised; for, your pleasure known, I have money sufficient for her dispatch ; for, I trust, within this month, or less, we shall either see an end of him, or else have a plain answer what we shall trust upon, and how to use herself. And thus I beseech our Lord send your Lordship long and honorable life. From Coldharbour, this 22nd of June, 1556.

Your humble servant,
ROBERT SWIFT.

To my Lord.

No. XXIII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. C. fol. 259.)

SIR LEONARD BECKWITH
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

WITH my duest and bounden duty had unto your honorable Lordship, and to my very good Lady your wife, that it may please your Lordship to understand that the 26th of this instant of June, we, the Commissioners of England and Scotland, did meet at Reddingburn the same day, at the place accustomed ; and yet we practised as much as we could have them to come to within England, but it would not be. There was a great company on both sides, and of England was the greater number, for we were above 2000. At our meetings, our commissioners were seen of both realms, and then agreed to meet at Norham Church the morrow after, and so did ; and it appears to me that the Scottish Commissioners are fully minded to make redress of all attemptats done by any Scotchmen to England, and did require the like of us, and said they had such command-
ment of the Queen their Sovereign. And if we do proceed as the Scottish Commissioners are proposed to do, it will not be ended before Michaelmas, for there are above 1000 bills of attemptats within one of the Marches of England done by the Scots ; and so we have appointed one day to be at Norham Church, in England, and another day at the Lady Church, in Scotland, half a mile from Norham. And thus Almighty God

preserve your Lordship in health and honor long to continue. From Berwick, the 28th of June, 1556.

Your Lordship's most bounden to command,

LEONARD BECKWITH.*

To the right honorable and my very special good Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord President of the King and Queen's Majesty's honorable Council established in the North Parts.

No. XXIV.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. C. fol. 296.)

LORD WHARTON
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

Right honorable and my singular good Lord, THE 7th of February I received your Lordship's letters of the 4th, with a French packet to the Dowager of Scotland, which packet I did send the same 7th towards her, now at Stirling.

It may please your Lordship to be advertised that I have called a Warden Court, which did begin, at the King and Queen's Highness' castle of

* This gentleman, the son of Robert Beckwith, by Constance ——, had served the two last Kings with good reputation in the wars of France and Scotland. Edward VI. granted to him the lands of the dissolved abbey of Selby, in Yorkshire, and he was High Sheriff for that county in 1550. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Roger Cholmondeley, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and had by her two sons, Roger and Rancy, both of whom died without issue; and a daughter, Frances, married to George Harvey, of Marks in Essex. Roger, the eldest son, sold the estate of Selby to Henry, fourth Earl of Derby, from whom it was transferred to Thomas Walmysley, of Dunkinhalgh in Lancashire, in right of descent from whose heiress, the late Lord Petre possessed it, with other considerable property.

Alnwick, the 3rd of this instant ; which Court continued till Monday, the 8th of the same ; the order whereof, and what was done, I do send unto your Lordship in a schedule with this. Over great a charge it is to such an unmeet subject as I am to rule so great a country, which has been so long suffered in disorder. Before the end of the Court I called the gentlemen, freeholders, and rulers of men, and declared unto them the Queen's Majesty's commandment for their service, and readiness upon an hour's warning ; and, having their own certificate of musters, I demanded of every man, severally, if their power were, with horse, armour, and weapon, ready, according to their said certificate ; who said every one openly, after their name and number read, that they would stand to the same ; thereupon I commanded, in their Majesties' names, to see their furniture immediately after their repair unto their houses. They have confessed 820 horsemen, and 1149 footmen ; which, notwithstanding, I am setting forth gentlemen to muster the country in several parts, and shall certify your Lordship, after the sum thereof.

I am informed that the Ambassador of Russia* did intend to take his journey from Edinburgh towards this realm the 8th of February ; and

* " Sub initium hujus anni," (1557, N. S.) says Bishop Godwin, in his annals, " venit in Angliam legatus a Basilio, Musco-
" vitarum Cæsare, nobilis quidam Osep Napea nuncupatus, ut
" amicitiam inter Principem suum nostrosque Reges conciliaret, per-
" petuumque feedus firmaque. Ad littus Scotticum is navem fregit,
" et, preter immensi pretii merces, munera amisit que amoris sym-
" bola ad Principes nostros a Domino suo destinata erant."

See more of this matter in the text.

leaves in Scotland one Lewes to pursue for the goods that were in the ship. I am informed also that the 5th of February two of the Captains which came late out of France, with 200 Scots light horsemen, embarked at Leith, and other 200 do take shipping at Dundee, with all convenient expedition, towards France. The castle of Tannetalland, which was the late Earl of Angus's, is delivered into the Dowager's hands, and received by the Earl of Cassilis, who has charged with the keeping thereof the Lord of Craigmillar.

I am commanded, as your Lordship writes, to declare unto your Lordship from time to time the occurrences of the Marches; whereof I am very glad; trusting to find your Lordship my good Lord, as always I have found, and that your Lordship will favour me, and the service under my charge, to my comfort. And so will I rest at your Lordship's honorable commandment, to my little power, as knows Almighty God, who send unto your Lordship as long and honorable life as your own noble heart can desire. At the King and Queen's Majesties' castle of Alnwick, the 8th of February, 1556.

Your Lordship shall be shortly advertised of all the ordnance and munition that is at Newcastle and Berwick.

Your Lordship's at commandment,

THOMAS WHARTON.

THE SCHEDULE REFERRED TO.

A brief declaration of the Warden Court held
en at Alnwick, for the King and Queen's Majes-
ties' East and Middle Marches of England, in the
time of six days continuing the same court; viz.
Beginning the 3rd of February instant, and ending
the 8th of the same; wherein is mentioned as well
the number of offenders at one instant brought to
the bar by the Lord Wharton, his deputies, and
servants (for suspicion of March treasons by them
committed) as also the number of juries chosen,
and purposely tried forth of all places within the
said Marches, to pass of enquiry and delivery, and
for matters in controversy between party and
party; and what number of the said March trait-
tors, as before, were indicted, and condemned
to die.

At the bar at one instant, in number, 101.

Causes between party and party ordered, 75.

Quests of gent. for enquiry, in number, 5.

Quests of gent. for delivery, in number, 3.

Indicted for the March treasons, in num-
ber, 68.

Cast, and condemned to die, for March trea-
son, in number 5, all Scotchmen.

*To my singular good Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury,
Lord President in the North.*

No. XXV.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. C. fol. 314.)

LORD WHARTON
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

Right honorable and my singular good Lord,
I HAVE received your Lordship's letters of the 24th of February by the post, and shall execute your Lordship's commandment in the same. I do move agreements between party and party; and if I shall write for any subject their tarry from appearance, assure your Lordship the same shall be for especial service (and, nevertheless, shall answer by attorney) and for the advancement of justice, as your Lordship has commanded.

It may please your Lordship to be advertised of such news as I have out of Scotland, where I practise as I can for knowledge there. I took occasion to write my letters to the three Commissioners on their borders for redress; copy of my letters to them, and their answer to me, I send unto your Lordship with these. Prettyplace, the bearer of my letters, was at Stirling, and before the Bishop of Orkney,* the Commissioners, and others of the Dowager's Council there, before answer was made which he received in letters at Edinburgh. I am informed that Sir Robert Carnegie, for whose safe conduct Rossa,† the herald was sent in post to the Queen's Majesty: and the said Carnegie, after the said safe

* Robert Reid, President of the Court of Session.

† Rothesay; the official denomination of one of the Scottish heralds.

conduct delivered, passed to Stirling from Edinburgh for his dispatch; who, after consultation there, is stayed from coming into this realm for 20 days. I am also informed by sundry intelligence (as appears in a Scotch letter which I lately sent unto your Lordship) that the 4th day of March, the Lords, Lairds, and Gentlemen, of that realm, are appointed to meet at Stirling, and shortly after to have a parliament at Edinburgh. It is thus appointed, what their doings will be upon this I know not. There are large communications between the Dowager, Mons. Dowcell, and David Douglas, with the Duke of Chatelleroy* and his friends, for the inheritance of the late Earl of Angus.† It is said that she will have the castle of Tantallon; her promise is made that there shall two Frenchmen come in the same, and the Laird of Craigmellar, Scotchman, to keep it as yet he does. And for that castle she would Davy Douglas should have the Earl's lands, as it is also said by Douglas's friends. That matter will be much argued at their meeting at Stirling, and at their

* Chatelherault.

† Archibald Douglas, sixth Earl of Angus. He resigned his honours and estates to the Crown in 1547, and obtained a new charter under the Great Seal of Scotland to himself, to hold them in life rent, and afterwards to his only son, James Douglas, and the heirs of his body; and in failure of such, to his own male heirs, or assigns. Surrenders and re-settlements of this kind were not uncommon in those days of uncertain tenure. The Earl outlived his son, and died, not long before the date of this letter, at his castle of Tantallon; and David Douglas, his nephew, was at length suffered to take possession of all his estates, as heir at law. Lady Margaret Lennox, whose title to them is here mentioned, was the only surviving child of this Earl of Angus, and wife of Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lennox.

parliament, if the same hold. His friends say the Dowager would create him Earl of Angus, with the lands, saving the castle of Tantallon to her daughter. Howbeit, Davy Douglas came from Edinburgh to Cockburnspath* in the March, the 25th of this month, where he dwells, like Davy Douglas, as he did before the Earl's death. They look to hear of my Lady Margaret Lennox's title.

A great number in that realm are sorry that they suffered the ambassador of Russia to depart out of the same; he may thank God that he escaped from their cruel covetousness with his life.† One Lewes, and Robarts, two Englishmen in Haddington, were taken as prisoners as they returned from the ambassador towards Edinburgh; they quarrelled with them for that Lewes had at his saddle-crutch a dagger: Mr. James Macgill, and others of the council of Edinburgh, discharged their taking, and set the Englishmen at liberty. And as the occurrences shall pass I shall advertise your Lordship from time to time, and shall pray to God to send your Lordship most prosperous success, to your Lordship's noble heart's desire.

At the King and Queen's Majesties' castle of Berwick, the last of February, 1556.

As to Thomas Roche, I have within these four

* A little sea port, fourteen miles N. W. of Berwick, lying between the passes called the East and West Paths, or Pethes.

† Mr. Hume, in his History of England, vol. iii. p. 404, speaking of this ambassador and his attendants, takes care to tell us that they were hospitably entertained during their stay in Scotland.

days set him at liberty, upon good sureties for his appearance before your Lordship within twenty days.

Your Lordship's at commandment,
THOMAS WHARTON.

No. XXVI.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. D. fol. 13.)

LORD WHARTON
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

Right honourable and my singular good Lord,
WITH my due commendations, it may please your Lordship to be advertised that, upon the affray at Ford,* where Robert Barrowe, Mayor, and Giles

* The castle of Ford, under which is Flodden Field, was an ancient, though not the original, seat of the Herons of Northumberland. Hadeston, the *Sedes Baronialis* of the Land-barony of Heron, was the place of their residence from the grant thereof to their ancestor, in 1100, until it descended, on the decease of William Heron, in the 25th of Edward I. to Emeline Heron, his grand-daughter and heir, afterwards Baroness Darcy. This Land-barony was forfeited in 1537 by the attainder of Thomas Lord Darcy, her descendant and heir.—Ford, Crucum Kynmerston, and Hetpole, which came to the above-named William Heron about the middle of the thirteenth century, in right of his mother, Mary, the daughter and heir of Odonel de Ford; and Bockenfield, granted to his father in 1254 by Roger Bertram of Mitford, with other estates in Northumberland, went on his decease to Roger Heron, his eldest surviving son, and heir *male*. William, the descendant of William Heron and Mary de Ford, embattled his mansion-house of Ford by virtue of a license obtained in the 12th of Edward III., and that Prince, in the 14th year of his reign, granted to him and his heirs to hold it, *per nomen castri*, for defence of those parts against the Scots. This William was the first Heron who had summons after the Land-barony descended to Lady Darcy. Ford Castle continued in his male posterity till the 27th of Henry VIII. when, on the death of Sir William Heron, Elizabeth,

Heron, Treasurer of Berwick, were cruelly slain, the Mayor had such wounds on him that he never spake more ; the Treasurer had fifteen bloody wounds upon him : some of the offenders are in Scotland, at Robin Carry's house, Lord of Graydon ; and have with them the Treasurer's hat, and his dagger. I wrote two several letters to the Sheriff and Justices of the Peace immediately after this affray, copies of both which letters I send unto your Lordship here inclosed. George Heron of Chipchase, brother to Giles, and others of his friends, came to me with the under-sheriff, as I appointed, of whom I have taken good sureties, in good sums, for preservation of the peace ; and George Heron, and one other, to make their appearance at the city of York, the 17th of May next, before your Lordship, and to obey all your Lordship's commandments for trial of the truth, and unto all others as was commanded unto me in the King and Queen's Majesties' letters from

his grand daughter, was by an *inquisitio post mortem* found to be his sole heir. She married Thomas Carr, who possessed Ford castle, &c. without interruption, till his death, a little before the date of this letter ; when George Heron of Chipchase having set up a claim to these estates under an entail made by Sir William Heron in the reign of Henry VIII., the friends of the two parties immediately engaged in the contest with that ferocious spirit which usually attended such disputes on the borders. On the 27th of March, 1557, John Dixon, with a part of the garrison of Berwick, probably hired for that purpose, seized Ford castle for George Heron, and on the following morning the tragical fray occurred which is the subject of the letter before us. I was indebted for these particulars to the Right Honourable Sir Richard Heron, Baronet, who was so good as to lend me his very curious MS. collections relative to his ancient family. That gentleman's father, Robert Heron of Newark, was heir male of the Herons of Bockenfield, as appears by various records in the College of Arms.

York of the last of March. The other party has not come before me. George Heron, and his friends, say that Sir Robert Ellerker, Sheriff, & party, and beareth with the offenders. He exhibited a bill unto me, which I have thought good to send unto your Lordship herewith. I shall endeavour myself to do in that matter, and in all others, the best I can for peace and quietness in this troublous country ; and shall obey your Lordship's commandments, from time to time, the best I may.

For news in these parts ; Mr. Dr. Hussey rode from Edinburgh to Stirling the 5th of April, in my Lady Lennox's causes, as he is commanded from the Queen's Highness. Of his doings there cannot write to your Lordship at this time, saving that there is much spoken of the French King's great armies which the Scots say he has in Picardy with himself, and with the Duke of Guise in Piedmont, and aiding the Pope in Naples ; and that the great Turk hath great armies ready ; all these the Scots speak for the French King's glory. The Scots look for war or peace as the King and Queen's Majesties shall order with Sir Robert Carnegie, who is passed to their Highnesses in commission for Scotland. And Almighty God send unto your Lordship most long and prosperous health, to your Lordship's noble heart's desire.

At the castle of Berwick, the 9th of April, 1557

I have received four of the King and Queen's Majesty's letters, three of them to the Justices of Peace and to me, the fourth to myself, besides one

I received of the last of March, all from the city of York. I have sent the letters to the Justices of Peace, and shall be ready myself to do in all their Highnesses have commanded, and shall certify your Lordship what shall be done upon the same. As to such of the garrison as were at Ford, there were three; John Selby the younger, Robert Story, and one Milbourne, whom I have committed, and intend not that they shall serve here; others, except the treasurer, I have not heard of as yet. The bonds I have taken of George Heron is £500; and have myself, two of the chief of his name, and others, gentlemen of inheritance, sureties therefor: I shall now call on Ralph Gray, Sir John Foster, the Herons, again, and all others; and give order as their Highnesses have commanded. I do assure your Lordship of their unlawful doings, or of their unlawful assemblies, or any unlawful act, I was not of knowledge, nor am contented therewith; their own deeds must try themselves; and my doings shall appear before your Lordship and all others to be dutifully done, and to seek the preservation and quiet of the country where I have charge, the subjects wherein I do wish should rule themselves as to their duties belongs, and then should I not be disdained nor wrong reported; howbeit many officers before my time have had overmuch care and trouble with the undutiful demeanours in Northumberland.

Yesterday Sir John Foster, one of my deputies, met the Lord Hume, who made deliverance for all the bills that were that day to be demanded to this

realm at the East Marches, except one. He delivered for three or four great bills, but he would not enter for the Middle Marches. They have appointed to meet there again the 26th of this month.

Your Lordship's at command,
THOMAS WHARTON.

*To the right honourable my singular good Lord
the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord President of
the King and Queen's most honourable Council
in the North.*

No. XXVII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. D. fol. 17.)

LAWRENCE HUSSEY TO LORD WHARTON.

Right honourable and my singular good Lord,
In most humble wise it may please your Honour
to understand that I, having had an answer at the
Dowager's hands, am repaired to Edinburgh, to
what intent your Lordship shall understand by my
next, and that shortly; deferring to advertise your
Lordship of my whole proceedings till I shall have
more leisure to write. This messenger, Nesbet,
servant to the Lord of Blaketower, came very
gently to me, and offered me all kindness, which I
know to have been done for your Lordship's sake.

At my being at Sterling, I understood of divers
that the French King has had a great discomfit in
Italy.* The Duke of Nemours, a young man, but

* This was a false report, for the French army, according to Mezeray, remained inactive in Italy till after the 9th of April.

as toward as was in all France, is slain, with twenty-four gentlemen and nobles of France, and some say 4000, some 5000, horsemen and footmen. The Queen here doth mourn, and the last day made a dole ;* the voice goes that it is for the Cardinal of Bourbon, lately deceased, who was nigh kin to her, but it is to be thought that she rather mourns for the death of that nobleman, and great overthrow of the French party. The Duke of Ferrara is Lieutenant-General of the French King's army in Italy, the Duke of Guise† Lieutenant during the other's absence ; the Duke of Nemours is, or was, the Chief Captain of the horsemen. Mons. Dosé, the French Ambassador, told me that he had news that the said Duke was wounded, how he could not tell ; that the Duke of Alba waxes strong in field ; that the Duke of Guise arrived in Rome in peace, and there received of the Pope with great gladness ; that the Duke of Ferrara leads the army, and marches towards the enemy ; of any meeting he heareth nothing, but very shortly thinks to have news.

The Dowager complaineth much of the rebels, that there is no redress made on my Lord Dacre's side ; I answered agreeing to your memorial. Of your honour she complains not at all. Sir Robert

* The alms distributed at funerals, or, as it appears from this passage, on other mournful occasions, were so called. The Cardinal of Bourbon here spoken of was Louis, Cardinal and Archbishop of Sens ; maternal uncle to the Queen Dowager of Scotland, and third son of Francis, Count of Vendome. He died March 11, 1556—7.

† Francis Duke of Guise, afterwards the most conspicuous character in France. He was assassinated in 1563.

Carnegie* is sent, as she said, to complain that my Lord Dacres makes no redress; and carries with him all that passed between the Commissioners, to declare to the Queen's Majesty, my Sovereign, that on the Scots' part all justice is done. I hear say that the three ships which your Honours heard should have been scattered from those seven ships which came to Holy Island have returned into Scotland for new victuals. Thus most humbly I take my leave of your Lordship, desiring the same to have me humbly recommended to my good Lady, your Honour's bed-fellow. From Edinburgh, the 12th of April, 1557.

Your Lordship's most humbly to command,
LAURENCE HUSSEY.†

On Saturday came to Leith a ship of war of

* This gentleman had a principal share in the administration of Scottish affairs during the Regency of the Duke of Chatelherault, who is said to have resigned his high office to the Queen Dowager at Sir Robert's request. He was frequently employed in important foreign negotiations; and died, very old, Jan. 5, 1565.

† We find, in a journal of the proceedings of the Privy Council in this reign, among Haynes's papers, that a Laurence Hussey, doubtless the same person, was apprehended on the 20th of July, 1558, with letters from Lady Jane Grey's Council, then sitting in the Tower, to the Duke of Northumberland. This slight circumstance, with the hiatus in the preceding letters concerning his business in Scotland, are all the intelligence that I can procure of him.

I have since met with the following monumental inscription in Charlewood Church, Surrey. "His jacet Guelms Jordan, de Gatwick Armig. qui obiit 7 Maii, 1625, et Katherina, uxor ejus unica, Filia et Co-Hæres Laurentii Hussey, Legum Doctor, Cancellaræ Magist. et Legati ad Reginam Scotiæ: Qui Lau. fuit Filius et Hæres Antonii Hussey, Agent. proper Reginam Angliæ infra Germania, et in Negotiis Mercatorie Angliæ apud Belgas et Muscovitas prefectus: Quæ Katherina obiit 30 Jan. 1626."

two tops ; he is a Frenchman. I hear that the Dauphin of France * is very sick.

No. XXVIII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. D. fol. 6.)

LORD WHARTON
TO THE KING, QUEEN, AND COUNCIL.

PLEASETH it your Majesties, that I have called before me Sir John Forster, Ralph Grey of Chillingham, and George Heron, and have taken them, bound with sufficient sureties in good sums to your Highness's use, that they shall keep the peace, attend upon your Majesties, or my Lords of your Highnesses' most honourable Council, and else where they shall be commanded, according to your Majesty's letters of the 5th of April, sent from your Highnesses' city of York unto me. And as to your Highnesses' garrison of Berwick, such as were at Ford (to my knowledge, as I learned myself) I had committed for their being there before your Highnesses' letters came to my hands. I trust your Majesties, nor said Council, shall not find my service otherwise done than to my duty appertains, whatsoever any persons say of me untruly thereof.

And, having received five of your Highnesses' several letters from your Highnesses' city of York, (two of them to myself, the three others to the Justices of Peace and to me) according to the same,

* Afterwards Francis II. and husband to the celebrated Mary Queen of Scots. This Prince, who was extremely weak both in body and mind, died in 1560, aged 17.

and upon others your Highnesses' commissions, I wrote letters, in your Majesties' names, to the Sheriff and said Justices, to have brought before them and me the other party, whose names were written in a schedule therewith ; which they have disobeyed, and not appeared accordingly, to the no little marvel of the obedient subjects in these parts. They have kept in great bands, in armour, together ; and, for that the Herons, and their party, say that the Sheriff and said Justices bear with them in their unlawful doings, I have forbore to stir men for the apprehension of such as have disobeyed, until I may know your Highnesses' pleasure, and said Council, what shall be done therein. Please your Majesties and said Council, that Giles Heron, late Treasurer, and Robert Barrowe, late Major, of your Highnesses' town of Berwick, riding in peaceable manner, (whatsoever was otherwise done) were most cruelly killed ; the Major after his stroke never spake word ; the Treasurer had fifteen bloody wounds upon him ; the killers were in armour ; powers of men have maintained them, and three of them have been conveyed into Scotland, where they are at Robin Carr's house of Graydon, and have with them the Treasurer's hat, a brooch, and a dagger. Others, who were at that cruel killing have been received by the Carrs and Collingwoods, as the other party say to me they will prove. Howsoever the cause of either of these parties has been, or shall be, I humbly beseech your Majesties to command and give order that obedience may be preserved, according to

your Highnesses' laws and commissions ; wherein my service to your Highnesses shall appear to be truly and dutifully done.

It will also appear that John Carr and Thomas Carr, brethren, and others, have made untrue reports of my service and doings in the said causes ; whom I trust your Highnesses and said Council will cause to be ordered as appertains. And, as I am most bounden, I shall pray to Almighty God to send unto your Majesties most long and prosperous reigns. At your Highnesses' castle of Berwick, the 14th of April, 1557.

No. XXIX.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. D. fol. 28.)

LORDS OF THE COUNCIL
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

AFTER our right hearty commendations to your good Lordship. We have received your letters of the 23rd of this month, and do thereby perceive the order by you taken, as well for the sending of the 500 men unto Berwick, as for the appointing of an army of such able men as have been, or may be, mustered within your commission, according to the King and Queen's Majesties' letters lately addressed unto your Lordship for that purpose ; your diligence used in which matters their Highnesses take in acceptable part, and have willed us to give you hearty thanks for the same. And where you write that there are but very few corslets to be gotten in those parts ; albeit their

Majesties could wish that the greater number, if it were possible, might be furnished with that kind of armour, yet, seeing that cannot so suddenly be brought to pass, their Majesties would, nevertheless, that your Lordship took such order as, at the least ways, so many being furnished with corslets as may be, the rest may have such other kind of sure armour as may be thought will best encounter with the Frenchmen that are in Scotland ; who are well furnished with corslets, as was at better length given your Lordship to understand by their Highness's said late letters. As for the furniture of bows and arrows that ye require may be sent thither from hence, we cannot but find that matter very strange ; for, besides the statutes* made for the maintenance of the shooting, which being put in execution might well enough serve to meet with this lack, we see not why that part of the realm should have more need to be supplied of those things from hence than their Majesties' subjects in other places, who, throughout the realm, do of themselves provide for their sufficient furniture of this sort of artillery, according to their duties ; and so we doubt not but your Lordship will see that those under your rule shall do, in time, as appertains ; whereby they may be the better able to serve their Majesties, and defend themselves, and their country, when need shall require. As touching the supply of such ordnance and munition as

* By an act of the 3rd of Henry VIII. all men under the age of forty were obliged to keep bows and arrows, and to practise shooting. Abundance of laws for the maintenance of archery, made in that reign, are to be found in the statute books.

shall be thought convenient to be sent thither, we have already considered the matter, and taken such order with the Master of the Ordnance as the same shall be supplied, and sent thither with as good speed as may be.

As for the want of victuals that ye say is in those parts, we doubt not, but your Lordship can well enough consider that the same is not fit to be supplied from hence ; especially seeing their Majesties are not certain when they shall have occasion to use their army that is to be put in readiness there, the same being chiefly prepared to encounter such foreign power as might happen to invade the realm that way ; in which cause, all good subjects are bound to do what they may for the defence of themselves and their country, to the uttermost of their powers, both in providing themselves victuals, and furniture of other necessities, according to their duty ; and, even so, we mistrust not but your Lordship will cause their Majesties' subjects there to see to the supply of this want, when need shall require, with as good foresight as may be, without trusting to any other provision. As touching the money that your Lordship puts us in remembrance of for the furniture of the army, when need shall require, their Majesties will cause such order to be taken as the same shall be provided, and in readiness when need shall be. And where ye desire that certain letters may be written unto such prisoners as are named in a schedule sent unto us in your letters ; their Majesties think the same shall not need ; for

such as are within your Lieutenancy you may yourself write unto, and command to be in readiness, according to the order heretofore given you ; and as for the rest that are in other shires, their Highnesses mean to reserve their service to be employed otherwise, as occasion shall require. As for the appointing of the meaner officers to serve in the army, their Majesties refer the naming of them unto your Lordship's own discretion, who, being Lieutenant, and having charge of the whole, may direct these, and other like things, as you shall by your wisdom think most convenient. And so we bid your good Lordship right heartily well to fare. From Westminster, the 27th of May, 1557.

Your good Lordship's assured loving friends,

NICO. EBOR.

WINCHESTER.

H. ARUNDEL.

PEMBROKE.

ANTHONY MONTAGUE.* THOMAS ELY.

EDWARD HASTINGS.† HENRY JERNEGAN.‡

JO. BOURNE.

*To our very good Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury
President of the King's and Queen's Majesties'
Council in the North.*

* Anthony Browne, lately created Viscount Montague, and K.G. a nobleman of an excellent character, who, notwithstanding his steady adherence to Popery, enjoyed a considerable share of the royal confidence in the following reign. He died Oct. 19, 1592.

† Sir Edward Hastings, K.G. second son of George, first Earl of Huntingdon of that family. Mary created him Baron Hastings of Loughborough, in Leicestershire, but he died without issue, and the title became extinct.

‡ Sir Henry Jernegan, Knight ; a gentleman of a very ancient family in Suffolk ; successively Captain of the Guard, Vice-cham-

No. XXX.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. D. fol. 30.)

THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY TO
SIR JAMES FOLJAMBE.*

AFTER my right hearty commendations. Where heretofore, on the King's and Queen's Majesties' behalf, I addressed my letters unto you, for the putting in readiness of all able men, furnished with armour and weapons, of your servants, tenants, and others within your rules and offices, so now, having received their Majesties' most honourable letters commanding me to appoint an army of all able men, furnished as is above said, within my commission for the North, this shall be to require you, and, nevertheless, in their Majesties' names to charge and command you, forthwith upon the

berlain, and Master of the Horse, (erroneously styled Master of the Household, in Bloomfield's Norfolk, and other books). He is said to have been the first man of consequence who offered his services to the Queen, at her retirement, at Kenninghale, after the death of Edward VI. and was in consequence rewarded with the preferments above mentioned, to which were added grants of the manor of Costessye, or Cossey, in Norfolk, and other estates, which are still possessed by his descendants. He married Frances, daughter of Sir George Baynham of Gloucestershire (heir, in right of her mother, to Sir Anthony Kingston) and died at Cossey Hall, near Norwich, September 7, 1572, aged, 63; leaving issue, Henry, ancestor of the present Lord Stafford; William; and one daughter, Jeronima, married to the son and heir of Sir Edward Waldegrave. The printed Baronetages mention another daughter, Mary, but her name does not appear in Sir Henry's funeral certificate.

* Sir James Foljambe, of Walton in Derbyshire, Knight. He was ancestor of the elder branch of this ancient family, the Foljambes of Yorkshire, being descended from Roger, of Moorehall in Derbyshire, his first cousin.

receipt hereof to put in readiness 100 men, being furnished as before : under the conducting of you yourself, if you be in health, or of your heir apparent, or such other gentleman, inheritor, or heir apparent, as you will answer for ; so as they, with you, or other their said Captain, may set forwards, as you and they shall be commanded, either from their Majesties, or from me, by proclamation or otherwise. Whereof eftstones requiring you not to fail, as you will answer the contrary at your utmost peril, for this time I bid you heartily farewell. From York, the 28th of May, 1557.

Your very loving friend.

No. XXXI.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. D. fol. 31.)

LORD WHARTON
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

PLEASETH it your most honorable Lordship to be advertised that this 3rd of June I have received your Lordship's letters of the last of May, and do understand thereby that your Lordship has taken order for 500 men to be at Berwick by the 10th of this month, or shortly after. It may please your Lordship that I have received letters from my Lords of the King and Queen's Majesties' most honorable Privy Council, that 500 men should be sent from your Lordship to Berwick, for the defence of the same ; which town has want of things necessary for furniture of those, and 500 workmen also appointed to be there. Here is

dearth of victuals. The old garrison not paid for their half year, ended the 14th of February last; and for this other half year, which will end the 16th of August, except money delivered in *preste** by the late Treasurer, which will appear upon declaration of his account, here is no Treasurer known, nor when they shall be paid. The corn in the garners is esteemed at 300 or 400 pounds, which lies there upon the charge of the late Treasurer, and Robert Barrow, their late Major. The inhabitants of the town, victuallers, are not able to provide for the soldiers and workmen without ready money; many of the victuallers, and others, complain for want of a pay called Gower's Pay; and thereby grudge to take men to board upon credit. There is some come in the country which (with money to the owners) may be brought hither. Upon this it were necessary that order were given before, or at the coming of the soldiers; and who shall take the charge of the corn ready here, which must needs be occupied.

And, where your Lordship marvelleth I have not sent to you of a long time; at my late being at Newcastle I desired my friend Sir Thomas Gargrave to give mine humble commendations to your Lordship, and to declare the present state of all

* This term, derived from *pret*, Fr. *ready*, was always applied to money transactions, but had various acceptations. In military affairs, *prest*, or *imprest*, money usually meant the gratuity by which recruits were retained, whence the well known phrase "pressing into the service." In this instance it signifies the sums issued from time to time by the treasurer for the current use of the army.

things to my knowledge ; then, at which time, certain gentlemen of Northumberland complained upon me, and since have practised thereupon, and some of them grudged at their own doings ; and not knowing the success of these, I have been loth to trouble your Lordship, whom I have found my singular good Lord, and do so trust in all wherein my service shall be truly done to their Majesties, and to my little power, to your Lordship's honor and pleasure. I have small cause in these parts of comfort except in their Highness's favour, the nobility of this realm, and my friends ; of my service your Lordship has had experience a long time ; as the same has been, and my good will to serve, I pray your Lordship to be and continue my good Lord.

I think your Lordship has heard of the meeting appointed the 8th of June on the West Borders, by the Commissioners for both the realms. I do send unto your Lordship copies of such as I have sent to my Lords of Westmorland and Durham, that your Lordship may know the present state of my charge, and doings here. I am informed from out of Scotland that there are lately arrived at Dunbarton 600 Gascoignes, men of war ; one spy says that they are 500. Those who set Stafford on land at Scarborough (which were in number 100 harquebusiers,* 60 pikes)

* Soldiers armed with guns, of whatsoever sort or denomination the latter, appear to have been called Arquebusiers, though the weapon termed an Arquebuse (originally a Haue or Hauebut) is distinguished by a particular description in dictionaries and glossaries. It is probable, however, that Haues,

they are placed on the West Borders at Annan* and Langholme. It is said Maxwell shall be Warden of that March again.

There was a day of March the last of May for the ; where deliverance was made for one bill of either side, before filed. The 4th of June the day of March is appointed to hold at Reddingborne. And Almighty God send unto your Lordship most honorable success in all the King and Queen's Majesties' affairs, to your Lordship's noble heart's desire. At their Highness's castle of Berwick, the 3rd of June, 1557.

Your Lordship's, at commandment,

THOMAS WHARTON.

*To the right honourable and my singular good Lord
the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord President of the
King and Queen's Majesties' most honorable
Council in the North.*

No. XXXII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. D. fol. 33.)

THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY
TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

PLEASETH it your good Lordships to be advertised
I have this evening received the Queen's Majesty's

or Arquebuses, anciently signified guns in general; in proof of which a gun-smith is still called in French *un Arquebusier*. The strange alteration from Haquebut to Arquebuse may be gradually traced in these papers; where the bearers of the weapons in question are variously styled "Hackbutters; Hagbutters; Herg-bushers; Harquebutters, &c." from *Haque*, a term of unknown derivation, and *Buter*, Fr. *to aim at*.

* Annan, the chief town of Annandale, 22 miles N. W. of Carlisle.

most honourable letters, of the date of the second of this instant, together with one proclamation of war with the French King ; * which, albeit as I perceive by one letter therewith sent from the post of Ware that they were stayed by the way by thieves, and the boys almost slain, by the means whereof they came very late into my hands, yet shall I, by God's grace, cause the same to be accomplished accordingly. And, having a great want, that at this time there is no herald to proclaim the same in this country as it ought, for the supply whereof I did in my late letters beseech your Lordship to move her Majesty, I have thought good, and even so do eftsones beseech your Lordship to move her Highness therein ; and also that it will please her Majesty to send down one or two trumpeters ; the rather for that my own being lately dead, as I signified unto your Lordship, I know none in these parts to be had. And thus, trusting that your Lordship will have consideration of my former remembrances of things needful to be had in these parts, when occasion shall require, I beseech Almighty God to send your Lordship continual good health, with much increase of honour. From York, the 5th day of June, 1557.

* Philip, having now been absent for two years, came over purposely to persuade the Queen to this measure, and immediately after the declaration of war, 8000 English joined the Imperial army in Flanders, where they arrived just in time to be present at the famous battle of St. Quintin.

they are placed on the West ~~Bo~~
and Langholme. It is said M
Warden of that March again.

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the ; where do
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June the day of Mar
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King and Queen
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Yo:
the Queen

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Albald Campbell, fourth Earl of Argyle, t
a nobility who embraced the Protestant per
in the following year.

+ Cardinal Beaton, of whom before, fell a sacrific
zeal against the Protestants. On the 29th of May, 1
persons, led by Norman Lesley, eldest son of the Ea
and Kirkaldy, the young Laird of Grange, entered
St. Andrews, where he resided in the capital of his
rounded by dependants; and, having with great coolne
his domestics, murdered him, and prepared to defend
The Regent immediately sent a body of soldiers to be
but so little was that branch of the military art then un
this island, that after a year spent in vain attempts to re
it was found necessary to call in the assistance of some e
troops from the Continent, to whose commander, Lec

No. XXXIII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. D. fol. 42.)

"Intelligence out of Scotland, the 8th of July, 1557."

THE Queen of Scotland, being at Stirling the 29th of June last, sent for the Earls of Arran, Huntley, and Argyle. The Earl of Argyle* came to her, to whom she gave the preferment of a bishopric, for a friend of his, by means whereof she and he agreed well. The Earl of Huntley came not, but made his excuse that he had such business in his country that he could not come to her ; and the Earl of Arran came not ; but, lying at Linlithgow, and hearing of the Queen's coming thither, he met her a good space off the town, and brought her into the same, where she lay all night, and upon the morrow he attended her out of the town ; to whom the Queen said that two men, being then in her company, which were at the murder of the Cardinal of Scotland,† should go

* Archibald Campbell, fourth Earl of Argyle, the first of the Scottish nobility who embraced the Protestant persuasion. He died in the following year.

† Cardinal Beaton, of whom before, fell a sacrifice to his fiery zeal against the Protestants. On the 29th of May, 1546, sixteen persons, led by Norman Lesley, eldest son of the Earl of Rothes, and Kirkaldy, the young Laird of Grange, entered the castle of St. Andrews, where he resided in the capital of his diocese, surrounded by dependants ; and, having with great coolness dismissed his domestics, murdered him, and prepared to defend the castle. The Regent immediately sent a body of soldiers to besiege them ; but so little was that branch of the military art then understood in this island, that after a year spent in vain attempts to reduce them, it was found necessary to call in the assistance of some experienced troops from the Continent, to whose commander, Leon Strozzi,

again into France, because she would not keep them to his displeasure ; and the Earl said to her if they might be banished out of Scotland for ever he would be contented, and no otherwise ; and so the Queen and he departed. All the Lords and freeholders of Scotland are commanded to be at Newbotle, 4 miles from Edinburgh, the 14th of this present July, there to sit in Council. The 29th of June, immediately after the arrival of James Remyd with letters to the Queen from their commissioners at Carlisle, the Queen and Mons. Dosye dispatched letters into France, by post, for a party ; which post took shipping at Dunbarton that same day. The first of July present, two French ships took and brought two barks of England, freighted with fish, and 80 men, into Leith haven. The 3rd of the same July, one French ship of war came by Berwick ; and their two English ships made out after her ; and the one of them came to her, and fought with her, and killed 8 Frenchman in the same ship, and wounded 10 in peril of death ; which French ship landed in

they surrendered, and were permitted to banish themselves to France. The Queen Dowager, being now obliged to court the Reformers, had recalled these popular assassins not long before the date of this letter. The elegant author of the History of Scotland under Mary and James VI. tells us that "the Regent secretly enjoyed an event which removed out of his way a rival who had not only eclipsed his greatness, but almost extinguished his power ; and that some private motives induced him to take arms, in order to revenge the death of a man he hated." The short conversation, however, between the Queen and Arran, recorded in this letter, affords a strong presumption of the sincerity of the Duke's resentment, especially as eleven years had now elapsed since the murder.

Leith haven that day, at 5 o'clock afternoon. The first of this same July the Lord James* agreed the Scots and the Rutherfords, being at variance, at a place called Selkrigge. The same Lord James is now building a house of defence at Kelsey, and making a force about the town. Of late there has been a combat between the Laird Towe and the Laird Barclay, at Aberdeen ; where 8 men were killed with daggers out of hand, and more hurt in peril of death.

The Queen has appointed the Commissioners of Scotland to remain at Carlisle to Lammas next, if they came ; of intent to put the realm of Scotland in readiness for war. Scotland has made as much provision for war as can be devised, since the coming of their Commissioners to Carlisle. The 4th of July present, Mr. Maxwell, accompanied with Davy Rume, little John Bell, and Jamy Bell, came to the Hanging Hill for anempst Bownes ; and there he commanded the two Bells to search the fords ; and asked them with how many men they could take on hand to burn all the towns between Bownes and Carlisle. And the same 3 men said they could do the same with 300 men, whereof 1000 to be Frenchmen, and the other Scotchmen. The 5th of July present, pro-

* James Stuart, better known in the histories of this time by the title of the Prior of St. Andrew's ; a natural son to James V. by Margaret Erskine. He had been converted to the Protestant faith very early in life ; and became now, probably with a distant view of usurping the Crown, leader of that memorable body which named itself "The Congregation." He was created Earl of Murray in 1562, and will make a very conspicuous figure under that title in some subsequent papers.

clamour was made in Dumfries that all men should be in readiness to give in their musters, horse and foot, the 22nd of the same July.

No. XXXIV.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. D. fol. 44.)

THE EARL OF WESTMORLAND TO
THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

Right Honourable,

FTER my most hearty commendations unto your Lordship, these may advertise the same, that before this day I was never so far past all hope of ~~ace~~, and look so certainly for present war ; for the ~~emeanour~~ of Scotland (as well in their preparing or war, as in their heinous attemptats and grievous injurys, committed daily upon the subjects of this realm, and especially upon the East and Middle Marches, since our coming to Carlisle) is so apparently repugnant to the talk and communication of the Commissioners of the said realm, that I can o other do but verily believe that they mind no routh, but to delay, and trifle the time with us, until they be prepared and ready, if they may, upon a sudden to work some displeasure unto this ealm ; as by such intelligences as we have received this day from the Lord Dacre, and also by the Lord Wharton's letter (with two attemptats committed by the Scots the 6th or 7th of this month) which I send unto your Lordship herewith, you may more at large understand. I have hought meet to give your Lordship knowledge

hereof, to the intent ye may make more haste in sending the 600 horsemen which your Lordship is by the King's and Queen's Majesties' letters appointed to send to the borders, for the better furniture of the same; for I would wish we were nothing behind with them, but as ready to withstand their malice as I believe, for all their fair speech, they are to attempt some enterprise against us. If I could have learned thus much of their inclination before, I would have signified the same unto your Lordship ere now; but, as occasion shall serve, I will from time to time advertise you of such news as shall come to us here; praying your Lordship likewise to participate with me some of your good news from London, if ye have any. Thus I commit your good Lordship to Almighty God. From the King's and Queen's Majesties' city of Carlisle, the 9th of July, 1557.

Your good Lordship's, assuredly,

H. WESTMORLAND.*

To the right honourable and my very good Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord President of the King and Queen's Majesties' honourable Council established in the North Parts, and their Highness's Lieutenant General from Trent Northward.

* Henry Neville, fifth Earl of Westmoreland, eldest son of Earl Ralph, by Catherine, daughter of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham. We have no information from history concerning this nobleman, though, if we may judge from his letters, he was a sensible and well educated, as well as a brave, man. He seems to have been at this time Warden of the West Marches; a command rather honourable than important while the veteran Lord Wharton held the general Wardenry, and therefore frequently given as a compliment to the English nobility. He married, first, Jane, daughter of Thomas Manners, Earl of Rutland, by whom

No. XXXV.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. D. fol. 46.)

THE EARL OF WESTMORELAND TO
THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

AFTER my most hearty commendations unto your good Lordship ; these may advertise the same, that yesterday I received your Lordship's letters of the 11th of this instant ; whereby I understand your Lordship has received, as well the King's and Queen's Majesty's letters, as also letters from their Highnesses' most honourable Privy Council, to prepare 600 horsemen, and 400 archers, to be in readiness against the 1st of August ; and also to put the whole force of the North Riding of Yorkshire in such perfect readiness as the same may encounter any mean force of the enemies it should invade the frontiers with an army. And, further, to advertise their Lordships as well of the state of the whole army, and of the officers and captains thereof appointed, as also, most specially, the force and readiness of the North Riding of Yorkshire, with the names of the Captains for the conducting of those men : and because your Lordship would have my opinion therein, and also be

he had Charles, his successor (who forfeited the titles and estates in the following reign), and four daughters ; Eleanor, wife of Sir William Pelham, of Brocklesby in Lincolnshire ; Catharine, married to Sir John Constable, of Burton-Constable in Yorkshire ; Mary, and Adeline, who died unmarried. His second wife was Margaret, daughter of Sir Richard Cholmley, and widow of Sir Henry Gascoigne ; who brought him two daughters ; Margaret and Elizabeth. He died between the 18th of August and the 12th of September, 1563, and was buried near his first wife, in the church of Staindrop, in the Bishoprick of Durham.

certified of my power, and what Captains I will appoint for the same, your Lordship has staid to make your certificate. My Lord, I most heartily thank you for your gentleness therein ; and as soon as I come home, which I trust will be one day the next week, I shall look over my books of musters, and satisfy your Lordship's request in this behalf. And for light horsemen, I have very few or none in Yorkshire, but my household servants, officers, and retainers ; whereof I make no account, unless I go to serve myself.

And, like as I cannot but commend the wisdom and politic circumspection of my very good Lords of the Privy Council, in having the whole army, and every part thereof, in such readiness as your letter purports, wherein I doubt not but your Lordship's wisdom will take such direction as appertains, so I trust we shall have no present need thereof ; for now, in the end of our conference with the Lords Commissioners of Scotland, they seem very desirous of peace, and rather to covet the same than war ; so that I believe we shall depart very friendly upon Saturday next, for yesterday we agreed upon this good point ; that if their instructions and ours (which we look to have from both the Princes, as their answers and pleasures to our resolutions) agree not, yet we shall depart in peace as we came hither ; making proclamation through the Marches of both realms for the continuance of the peace for two months ; and then to meet again upon the East borders ; and, in the mean time, the Princes' pleasure to be known, and

the Wardens to be charged to take certain of the great riders* of either side, to remain with them, for the better stay and continuance of the peace.

Thus (trusting shortly to see your Lordship at York, where I shall declare unto the same my simple opinion, and poor advice, in all things you shall require me that may tend to the furtherance of the King and Queen's Majesties' service, as my duty is) I commit you to Almighty God, who long preserve your good Lordship in health and honour.

From Carlisle, the 14th of July, 1557.

Your good Lordship's assuredly,

H. WESTMORELAND.

*To the right honourable and my very good Lord
the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord President of
the King and Queen's Majesties' honourable
Council established in the North Parts, and
their Highnesses' Lieutenant-General from
Trent Northward.*

No. XXXVI.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. D. fol. 54.)

THE EARL OF WESTMORELAND TO
THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

AFTER my most hearty commendations unto your good Lordship ; these shall be to advertise the same that I have received your Lordship's gentle

* A particular class of borderers in each country so called. Their livelihood was derived entirely from their respective depredations. They were thieves and murderers by profession ; possessed no visible property but their horses and arms ; were bred from their childhood in this savage way of life ; and to the great disgrace of the more civilized English and Scots, were always employed and protected by them in their wars. Their expeditions, generally in the night, were termed "forreys :" the phrase "riding a forrey" frequently occurs in these papers.

letter, and a hawk, by my man, for the which I most heartily thank you ; and shall not fail, God willing, to meet your Lordship at Rastall Haggé upon Monday next, by ten o'clock, according to your request ; for that I will at all times be as ready to come, and have conference with you in any matter, as you shall be to require me ; and as for my poor advice and assistance, you shall not fail of it ; assuring your good Lordship I will be as glad to do any thing for you may be to your honour or pleasure as any friend or kinsman you have, yea or as your own son.

I have perused the Lord Wharton's and Sir James Croft's letter to the Privy Council ; whereby, like as I do perceive the Lord Wharton doth much mistrust the Scots, by reason of the continuance of the Council, and the fortifications they make (wherein he does wisely to foresee all dangers, considering the weakness of the borders) so I trust there is more honour in the nobility of Scotland than suddenly to break the peace without any just occasion ; and I believe if the Lord Wharton did likewise remember what occasion the Scots have to mistrust us, by our buildings, and drawing of soldiers to our frontiers, he would not consider the matter so strangely. And for the continuing of your Council, I think their Commissioners somewhat prolonged the same ; for at our departure they told us it was one of the occasions that made them make so much haste away to come to the Dowager of Scotland before the Council brake up, that they might openly declare to all their nobility

of Scotland what a friend and good neighbour they might have of the Queen's Majesty, our mistress, if they continue the peace ; and that her Highness is not minded to break the same, unless they begin, and give the occasion ; and for this cause sent by post to stay the Council until their coming. Thus I commit your good Lordship to Almighty God, who preserve you in health and honour.

From Kirkbymoreside,* the 24th day of July, 1557.

Your good Lordship's assuredly,
H. WESTMORELAND.

To the right honourable and my very good Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord President of the King's and Queen's Majesties' honourable Council established in the North Parts, and their Highnesses' Lieutenant-General from Trent Northwards.

No. XXXVII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. D. fol. 59.)

THE BISHOP OF DURHAM
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

Right Honourable, and my very good Lord, DUE recommendations premised unto your good Lordship, it may like the same to understand that

* Kirkbymoreside, anciently Kirkbymorsheved, a market-town in Yorkshire, near Malton. The Earls of Westmoreland possessed the manor, which was forfeited by this nobleman's successor, and remained in the Crown till the reign of James I., when the favourite Duke of Buckingham, having obtained Helmsley by his marriage with the heiress of the Earl of Rutland, is said to have begged it of the King as a garden to that famous mansion. The manor, together with the Villiers estates in that neighbourhood, were purchased by Sir Charles Duncombe, and are now possessed by his grandson and heir, Charles Duncombe, Baron Feversham.

I have received your letter of the 28th of this month, concerning the answer of my Lord Wharton's letter; whereunto, by the advice of all the Justices of Peace at this time present in the country, I have made answer, whereof I send a copy to your Lordship here enclosed; by which you will perceive the country doth deny lying in garrisons to tarry the coming of the enemy; but whensoever the enemy doth invade the realm, they will, upon warning, be ready to go to repulse him of their own cost. I do look for warning to be given to set forwards shortly, the borders and their garrisons fearing their enemies, as I do understand they do; and if such warning come, I shall give knowledge thereof to your officers, God willing, who preserve your good Lordship to his pleasure and your's, with increase of much honour.

From Auckland, the 30th of July, 1557.

Your good Lordship's most assured loving friend and orator,

CUT. DURHAM.

No. XXXVIII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. D. fol. 65.)

THE QUEEN TO SIR EDWARD DYMOKE.

BY THE QUEEN.

MARY THE QUEEN.

TRUSTY and well-beloved, we greet you well, and let you wit that the wars being open betwixt us and France, and the King, our dearest Lord and husband, passed the seas in person to pursue the

enemy, we have given order (as meet is, our honour and surety so requiring) to have a convenient sort put in perfect readiness and preparation to attend upon our own person,* as well for the defence and surety thereof, as to resist such attempts as may be by any foreign enemy, or otherwise, made against us and our realm; and, knowing your fidelity and good will to serve us, have appointed you to be one, amongst others, that shall attend upon us; therefore requiring and charging you, not only to put yourself in order accordingly, but also to cause your tenants, servants, and others within your rules and offices, to furnish yourself with ten horsemen, and 100 footmen, well appointed; of the which footmen one-fourth part to be harquebusiers or archers; one other fourth part pikes; and the rest bills; and which the said numbers of men, horse, and furniture, well in order, to be ready to attend upon us, or elsewhere by our appointment, upon one day's warning, at any time after the 25th day of August next coming; and, in the mean time, until you shall be so called to serve us, remain in full readiness and order to serve under those who have charge in that county; and hereof fail you not.

Given under our signet, at our manor of Rich-

* Some historians inform us that Mary intended to take the field in person against the Scots about this time, and that a plan was in agitation to establish a new kind of body guard, selected from her subjects of most approved loyalty, to attend her upon that occasion. This letter seems to confirm their report, not only by its particular terms, but because addressed by the Queen herself, instead of the Lord Lieutenant of the County.

mond, the last of July, the fourth and fifth years
of our reigns.

To our trusty and well-beloved Sir Edward Dymocke, Knight.

No. XXXIX.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. D. fol. 66.)

LORD WHARTON
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

It may please your Lordship to be advertised that I am informed by intelligence out of Scotland that there came a sloop lately in at Leith from the French King, with French testons,* and other provisions. The intelligence says that the ships of Aberdeen have lately taken five English ships, one of them above 200, † besides eight taken before. The Dowager has sent for the ship above 200, to have her. They have prepared more ships of war at Leith, Aberdeen, Dundee, and others on their coast. The ship which was Wallace's and Copsmith's is rigged at Leith to go forth for the war. The intelligence says that those little vessels called sloops pass between France and Scotland with letters, ordnance, munition, money, and others their necessaries, both by the East seas and West seas, by the shore, like fishermen.

The power of the French and Scots are so great, and near to Berwick, that the weak power and inhabitants cannot use the bounds to any com-

* Testons, for the pay of the French troops. A teston was a silver coin, worth about eighteen pence.

† Two hundred tons' burthen.

modity ; whereby grows great hurt, and like to be to this town, without speedy remedy with power to repulse their force. The Earl of Huntley came the 1st of September, at night, to Langton, from the Dowager at Dunbar. She says she will visit Aymouth * again shortly.

The Scots nightly and daily make incursions, and prepare so to do, to destroy the houses and corn, and thereby leave the fortresses, towers, and holds, destitute. There has been great damage done, whereby the borders are much wasted ; I think your Lordship is advertised of the same from time to time ; and now their corns ready to be rotten, are in great danger to be destroyed. By ill intelligence that I can learn they are about a great enterprise, to be done hastily with the light of this moon. And Almighty God send unto your Lordship as prosperous success as your Lordship's own noble heart can desire.

At the King's and Queen's Majesties' castle of Berwick, the 4th of August, 1557.

Your Lordship's at command,

THOMAS WHARTON.

*To the right honourable and my singular good
Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Lieu-
tenant in the North.*

* Aymouth, or Eyemouth, a market-town on the coast, five miles N. of Berwick, to oppose which it was at that time strongly fortifed.

No. XL.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. D. fol. 72.)

HENRY PERCY
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

Right Honourable and much singular good Lord,
My humble duty remembered, with like thanks for
your Lordship's and my Lord of Westmoreland's
much favoured letters, which I received this 6th
of August instant; whereby I perceive both your
Lordships to accept my repair to this country of
Northumberland in such good part as I have cause
to rejoice thereof, and, further, to be desirous to
know the occurrences from time to time happening
in these parts. It may please your good Lordship
to understand that, upon my repair to Alnwick the
last of July past, sundry gentlemen of this country,
with many other honest men of the same, repaired
thither unto me; with whom I continually travelled
until Wednesday night last, in such sort as we
were suffered to take very small rest either by
night or day, but by the more part of nights and
days, on horseback, attended the invasion of the
enemy: and, for the better resistance thereof,
placed myself and my company nigh to the frontiers,
as at Eslington, and other places thereabout.
And yesterday, being the 5th of this instant, about
five o'clock in the morning, the Lord James, and
Lord Robert,* the late Scottish King's bastard

* James hath been lately spoken of. Robert was afterwards created Earl of Orkney, and obtained a grant of those islands and Shetland, which reverted to the Crown upon the attainder of his son Patrick, who was beheaded in 1614.

sons, the Lord Hume, and others of Scotland, with all the power they could make in three days' assembly of men from Edinburgh hitherwards, and with certain pieces of ordnance, did invade on the East March of this realm, minding, as I learned by credible intelligence, to have attempted to win the castle of Ford, and have burnt sundry towns thereabouts, called the ten towns of Glendale; which their purpose, upon my repair towards them, with a good number of gentlemen, and others of this country, they did quite alter and change; and after they had burnt a house or two in the town of Fenton, where was taken, and wounded to death, as is supposed, one of their best borderers and guides, Richard Davison, did, with great haste, and more fear (as by plucking off and leaving a great number of white crosses, and the small spoil or prey of cattle by them seized, did appear) depart home into Scotland before we could in order come to them: * which considered (by the discreet advice of the gentlemen, whose good conformity and forwardness in service I cannot but of good cause much earnestly commend unto your Lordship, whom I shall much humbly beseech, further, to command and advance the same, upon this my just report, as may tend to their more encouragement of service hereafter) I did enterprise to invade the country of the Mars, † in Scotland, where

* Some historians, upon misinformation, tell us that the Scots in this incursion traversed the East Marches with a great train of artillery, and burnt several places.

† Merse. That part of the ancient Berwickshire which lies south of the Tweed was so called after the final settlement of the English in Berwick under Edward II.

were burnt sixteen towns ; and won a booty, or spoil, of 280 neat, and 1000 sheep, besides many horses, and some prisoners.

This day an aid of 600 men of the Bishoprick is repaired towards Berwick ; which, being placed as my Lord Wharton shall appoint, I doubt not but shall be able, by God's grace, to withstand the euemy ; and the same considered, upon conference therein had with my Lord Wharton, I do, for sundry my Lord my brother's and mine own much necessary business, depart hence to-morrow towards Prudhow.* And thus, remaining, as I am thereto most bound, your Lordship's assured to command at all times, I shall beseech the Eternal God long to conserve your good Lordship, with continuance and increase of much honourable estate. From Alnwick, this 6th of August, 1557.

Your Lordship's most bounden at command,
HENRY PERCY.†

I desire your Lordship of pardon in the direction of these letters with such speed ; the only cause is that the posts be so slow.

To the right honourable his most singular good Lord, my Lord of Shrewsbury, Lord President of the King's and Queen's Majesties' Council in the North, and one of their Highnesses' most honourable Privy Council. Haste post, haste, haste, haste, for thy life, for life, for life.

* Prudhow Castle, situated near the Tyne, a few miles west of Newcastle. It was formerly a seat of the Umframvilles, from whom it descended to the Percy family towards the end of the fourteenth century, and is now possessed by the Duke of Northumberland, to whose only brother, Algernon, the title of Baron Prudhow was granted in 1816, and who now enjoys it.

† Brother and heir, by a special entail, to Thomas Earl of

No. XLI.

(Talbot papers, Vol. D. fol. 98.)

THE EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND TO
THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

I SEND here enclosed unto your Lordship the copy of a letter of intelligence which I have received from my brother Henry Percy, Sir John Foster, Knight, and John Swinbourne, whereby the state of these weighty affairs here may the better appear unto your Lordship which shall understand that as I perceive from the Captain of Norham that place will be hastily besieged, and as he has learned by credible intelligence it will be this present week, he is like to lack both powder and guns necessary for the defence thereof; and for relief therein I have already written to the Master of the Ordnance at Newcastle, and the Mayor of the said town to send with all possible speed to Norham, if they are able to furnish the same, two barrels of powder, and two guns. And so I commit your Lordship to Almighty God. From Alnwick, the 17th of August, 1557.

Your Lordship's assured loving cousin,
T. NORTHUMBERLAND. *

Northumberland. He was accused of a design to liberate the Queen of Scots in 1585, and committed to the Tower, where he was found in his bed, on the 21st of June in that year, shot through the heart, seemingly by himself, but with some circumstances which occasioned suspicions of treachery. The Supplement published in 1750 to Collins's Peerage gives a long and tolerably correct account of this noble person, and an incorrect transcript of this letter.

* Thomas Percy, restored to the Earldom of Northumberland this year, and, by a patent dated August 2, joined to Lord Wharton in the Wardenry of the East Marches. He was beheaded at York, August 22, 1572.

Postscripta. I have received from my Lord Wharton the copy of a letter of intelligence sent to him from Sir William Ingleby, Knight, and Rowland Foster, who are placed at the castle of Wark ; which copy I have sent to the Privy Council, for that it touches the said castle and fortress. The effect whereof is that the Scottish Queen, herself in person, sets forwards with great ordnance to lay siege to the same ; and has proclaimed, in the most parts of Scotland nigh unto the frontiers, that all men between the ages of 60 and 16 shall come forwards with 40 days' victuals, for the better achieving of this her pretended enterprise.

THE LETTER INCLOSED.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. D. fol. 99.)

Right honourable, my very good Lord,
 May it please your Lordship to perceive that I have received such perfect intelligence that I think your Lordship may trust on, that the Earl of Huntley, the Earl of Cassellis, accompanied with divers other nobles of Scotland, intend to be in England upon Wednesday next, the 18th of this instant August ; purposing to take in hand to cast down Cornwall Tower, Twysell Bridge, and also Ford Bridge, if power will so serve them, for victualling the castle of Wark, where the Queen of Scots intends to be the 25th of this instant to lay siege to the same castle of Wark ; and thereon has commanded, throughout all Scotland, all men to bring 20 days' victuals with them. She presently is at Dunbar ; and her battery, being six cannons,



and demy cannons are all ready landed at Aymouth. Further news there is among the Lords of Scotland, that our ships have landed in Fife,* and there have burnt one town. As knows the Blessed Trinity, who preserve your Lordship with much increase of honour. From Chillingham, this night, being Tuesday morning, in haste, 1557.

Your Lordship's humbly at commandment,

HENRY PERCY.

JOHN FOSTER.†

JOHN SWYNBORNE.‡

We think very meet your Lordship to write unto my Lord Wharton for to set forward the ordnance to be at Norham this Tuesday, by 4 of the clock; and, further, for the garrisons of footmen as your Lordship before has written; which garrison, and ordnance if we shall want, their purposes we are not like to prevent

To the right honourable my very good Lord the Earl Shrewsbury, Lord Lieutenant in the North. Post haste, for thy life, life, life, life.

* It appears by this, and several other passages in the papers of this year, that the assault of Wark by the Scots was not entirely unprovoked. The conduct of the Queen Regent in that matter has been somewhat misrepresented.

† Sir John Forster, second son of Sir Thomas Forster of Ederston in Northumberland. He was afterwards a Warden of the Marches and Governor of Berwick, and was slain on the borders in 1575.

‡ John Swynborne was probably the son of Roger Swinburne of Nafferton, descended from the ancient Swinburnes of Cappheaton.

No. XLII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. D. fol. 93.)

THE EARL OF SREWSBURY TO
THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

It may please your good Lordship to be advertised that I have presently received letters from my very good Lord the Earl of Northumberland, the copies whereof herewith your Lordship shall receive. And, although I have heretofore received from your Lordship sundry directions for the aid of the frontiers, as occasion shall require, and also authority from the Queen's Majesty, by her Grace's letters patent and otherwise, for that purpose, yet, wanting money, I can do nothing to any effect, be the necessity ever so great. And if, according to my Lord of Northumberland's letter, I should raise the whole force, and carry them forwards, having neither money nor victuals to relieve them, I should thereby drive the people, as I fear, rather to mutiny and grudge, than, otherwise, to retain them willing to serve ; and therefore I fear to raise and bring them forwards without surety of money ; but I have written letters, as well to the Earls of Westmoreland, Derby, and Cumberland, as also to all others within the shires of York and Nottingham, to be ready to march forwards upon any sudden warning by proclamation or other munition. If money could have been had in these parts, either for bond or otherwise, I would assuredly for the present need have mortgaged or sold

any land or things I have ;* but for any thing that I can do I cannot find any money to be had at any man's hands here. I have presently sent to set the 1000 men forth of the North Riding with all speed, so that I trust they will be in Northumberland upon Sunday at the furthest ; and, as money shall come, the rest of the force shall be with all speed set forwards, as occasion shall require ; but the lack and scarcity of money in time convenient, as I have often written, is like to be great hindrance to the Queen's service, and danger to the county of Northumberland, and the forts, and

there. I do not yet hear of the certain coming of the money to Sir Thomas Gargrave, which your Lordship, in your letter dated this day sennight, did declare to be in the way hitherto-wards ; and yet when the same shall come to his hands, as I perceive by him, he has no warrant to defray any part thereof but by the Queen's Ma-
jesty's own warrant and direction.

I most heartily thank your good Lordships for good news of the overthrow given to the French† by the King's Majesty's army ; the which, immediately upon the receipt thereof, this day I have published through all the country ; willing thanks to be given to God, by processions, and bonfires, and other ways. And, because I was uncertain whether your Lordships had sent the same to the

* The reader will not hesitate to join with me here in a just tribute of veneration to the departed spirit of true patriotism.

† At the battle of St. Quintin, in Picardy, where the French army was defeated by the Imperialists, under the Duke of Savoy, on the 10th.

Lord Wardens, I have sent it to them both, desiring them to cause it to be opened and known, so much as they may, into Scotland, which I trust will somewhat appal the French and Scottish hearts. And thus, good my Lords, be means that treasure sufficient may be had to revenge the Scots' false and untrue dealings, whom I trust God for their untruth will overthrow ; and I shall beseech Almighty God to preserve your good Lordship long to continue in health, with much honour.

From York, the 17th of August, 1557.

No. XLIII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. D. fol. 102.)

THE EARL OF WESTMORELAND TO
THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

AFTER my most hearty commendations unto your good Lordship, these may advertise the same that I do send this bearer, my servant George Stafford, unto your Lordship, to declare unto you in what cause I was yesterday very sore handled with a fit of an ague, so that the burning thereof held me extremely twelve hours ; but, thanked be God, I am better to day ; and do purpose, God willing, if I may sit on horseback, to go forwards to-morrow, and will be with my Lord of Northumberland as shortly as I may ; desiring to know your Lordship's pleasure if I may take my whole power here in Yorkshire with me. And, my Lord, if it so be the Dowager of Scotland, with the power thereof,

are come to the borders, my poor advice is your Lordship should likewise come forward with your whole power, straightway, never regarding the lack of money in respect of the present danger of the frontiers ; and to bring with your Lordship all the worshipful and wealthiest of the country, so that every man of worship may have the conducting and guiding of his own friends and tenants ; to the intent that if any murmur or grudge should arise among the soldiers for lack of money, before the same may be provided, every man of worship may help to relieve his own company ; and, as I think, the hearts of the people are such that they will sooner be persuaded by their own natural lords and masters, and more willingly serve under them for love than with strangers for money.* Thus, wishing your good Lordship most prosperous success in all the King's and Queen's affairs, and as well to do as I would myself, I commit the same to Almighty God.

From my manor at Kirkbymoreshed, the 18th of August, 1557.

Your good Lordship's most assured loving friend,

H. WESTMORELAND.

Postscript. My Lord, I pray your Lordship give credit to this bearer. After the signing of

* We have here a pleasing, and no doubt a just, picture of that middle state between vassalage and freedom in which the lower orders of Englishmen lived in that age. The lord seems not to have been that gloomy tyrant, nor the commons such abject slaves, as we are inclined to suppose.

this letter word is come unto me that my brother Christopher is already gone towards my Lord of Northumberland.

To the right honourable and my very good Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord President of the King and Queen's Majesties' Council established in the North Parts, and their Highness's Lieutenant-General from Trent Northward.

No. XLIV.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. D. fol. 106.)

THE EARL OF WESTMORELAND TO
THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

AFTER my most hearty commendations unto your good Lordship these may advertise the same that I have received your Lordship's most friendly and gentle letter, for the which I most heartily thank your Lordship. And for my ague, I trust, by the order I have taken therewith, it will trouble me no more; I was well all yesterday, and have had this night very good rest.

My Lord, where your pleasure and advice is I should make my repair unto Newcastle, and abide there, going no further northward, I shall desire your Lordship to consider my honour therein; for, as I think, if I should go to Newcastle, and tarry there, the county of Northumberland would think I durst not come to their relief; and the Scots thereby be emboldened, thinking I was afraid of them; and chiefly the Earl of Cassilis, whose quarter it is; and your Lordship knows what occasion I have to be his enemy, over all other, to

uttermost of my power. So that my lying at
wcastle, besides my own dishonour therein, l
r will do more harm than good; wherefore
eseech your Lordship either I may go forward
the borders, or else tarry at my own house in
Bishoprick, whitherwards I purpose to go to-
rrow, God willing, and to have before me at
auncepeth upon Saturday all the light horsemen
can make, both here in Yorkshire, and the
shoprick.

I have thought it good to send your Lordship
h advertisements as I received yesterday out
Northumberland; assuring your good Lordship
t were not for my Lord of Durham's cause,
om I am bound to love and honour, I would
use Mr. Norton to the Queen's Majesty of his
gligence used in the keeping of Norham, but I
pose to confer with my Lord of Durham in
t matter, and touching the state of Norham,
on Saturday, one time of the day Thus I com-
: your good Lordship to Almighty God.

From my manor at Kirkbymoreshed, the 19th
August, 1557.

ur good Lordship's most assured loving friend,

H. WESTMORELAND.

Postscripta. My Lord, I beseech your Lord-
p make my most hearty commendations unto my
dy your bedfellow, and to send me word when
ur Lordship and she will be at Brauncepeth,
ere you shall be as heartily welcome as to
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Sheffield ; trusting your Lordship will so take it, I purpose to set forward to-morrow, if I hear not to the contrary from your Lordship.

To the right honourable and my very good Lord, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord President of the King's and Queen's Majesties' Council established in the North Parts, and their Highness's Lieutenant General from Trent Northwards.

No. XLV.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. D. fol. 147.)

THE COUNCIL IN THE NORTH TO
THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

It may please your good Lordships to be advertised, that yesterday we, with our very good Lord the Earl of Northumberland, and the Lord Dacres, &c., have consulted together upon the King's and Queen's Majesties' affairs of these North Frontiers towards Scotland ; and (the time of the year considered, being now September, with the distance of the force for the army, being a great part thereof in the shires of Lancaster, Chester, Nottingham, and Derby, which will ask, for a good part of them, nigh 20 days before they can be brought to the place of service ; and also the want of victuals, especially of malt, the harvest here not yet fully in, nor any corn ready to malt ; which, then, the short time the army could here be kept together, by reason of winter and lack of provision, and the small service and great charge like there-upon to ensue) we have all thought in our opinions, that the army this year is not meet to be brought to the

frontiers, but strong garrisons to be laid in places convenient for the safety and defence thereof. We have conferred together, both for the places where the garrisons should be laid, and for the numbers to be placed ; and yet have referred the alterations of the places to the Lord Wardens, as the occasion shall require ; and hereupon it is resolved that the Lord Wardens, with Sir James Crofts, with the speed they can, shall see the men already there mustered, and sorted to the places appointed ; and to retain in wages such number of the borderers as shall be for the time thought meet. And, because the dearth of things* be such as the soldiers are not able to live of their accustomed wages, which is, by the day, 6d. the footman, and 9d. the horseman ; therefore we beseech your Lordship to be means to the Queen's Majesty that order may be taken, either for the increase of their wages by the day, the footmen to 8d. and the horsemen to 12d., or else to allow that at the pay days they may, by their captains or otherwise, have some reward to countervail the like sum.

We do hear that since the death of Sir John Clere,† the Scots and French have taken courage

* The scarcity was so great that a little before the harvest wheat was sold at four marks per quarter ; but the ensuing crop proved so plentiful that within one month after the price fell to five shillings.

† Sir John Clere, of the very ancient family of Clere, of Ormesby, in Norfolk. He had been Treasurer of the Army in France in 1549 ; was soon after appointed Vice Admiral ; and having landed at Kirkwall, in the Orkneys, was killed by the barbarous natives, August 21, preceding the date of this letter.

thereby, and have set forth their ships to the seas ; which now daily takes the fishermen, and such of the Island fleet as they meet withal. There have been seen of late 8 tall ships together upon sundry parts of these coasts. Therefore we think it very convenient that the ships that were with Mr. Clere, or some other, might be sent again to these seas ; wherein we beseech your Lordship that speedy order may be taken, as you shall think convenient. And where your Lordship did advertise by Sir James Crofts that the Lord Eure, or some other, might be joined with the Lord Wharton, for his ease in the offices of the castle and town of Berwick ; we perceive, both by the letters of the Lord Wharton to me the Earl of Shrewsbury, and also by Mr. Crofts, that the Lord Wharton is well pleased and desirous to have the said Lord Eure ; and I the Earl of Shrewsbury have spoken with the said Lord Eure therein, who, like a nobleman, most willingly offers his service accordingly, to the uttermost of his power ; and will endeavour himself to furnish, of himself and his friends, for the better service, 100 horsemen, wherein he shall do right good service. He has appointed to be with me the Earl of Shrewsbury, at York, upon Wednesday next ; and in the mean time, to prepare himself to be in readiness to repair towards Berwick, as he shall then perceive the Queen's Majesty's pleasure and direction ; whereof, and for his entertainment, I beseech your Lordships I may be advertised by that day ; and that also the said Lord Eure may receive from

the Queen's Majesty, or your Lordships, such letters of direction and thanks as your Lordships shall think convenient; wherein, for that he is a young gentleman, and his presence there like to do good service, we beseech your Lordships both to consider so to place him for his estimation, and with such entertainment, as thereby he may be encouraged and enabled to serve according to his bounden duty, which we doubt not he will with diligence endeavour himself to do. And, for his better credit (the Queen's Majesty so pleased) we think it should do well to have him sworn of this Council in these North Parts, whereof we also beseech your Lordships to advertise me the said Earl of Shrewsbury.

The Lord Dacres, by such exploit as he intendeth, supposes that the Armstrongs of Scotland, it may so chance, will make offer to serve this realm, having living or reward therefore convenient; and if your Lordships think it convenient to be accepted, it may then please you to be a means to signify the Queen's Majesty's pleasure therein to the said Lord Dacres. And now, we being resolved of the premises, have thought convenient that I, the Earl of Shrewsbury, should repair again to York, because the bruit of my remaining here should put the Scots in some doubt of a greater power to be brought hence, and thereupon increase their force towards their frontiers; whereupon I intend to take my journey towards York to-morrow.

The town of Newcastle has two ships well furnished, which they would, of their own charges, continue in service of the wars ; and they have also other two ships furnished, which, if it might please the Queen's Majesty, they would have set forth of her Majesty's charges ; wherein it may please your Lordship to signify her Majesty's pleasure unto them. And thus we beseech Almighty God long to continue your good Lordship in good health, with much honour.

From Brauncepeth, the 2nd day of September, 1557.

No. XLVI.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. D. fol. 153.)

LORDS WHARTON AND EURE
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

PLEASED your most honourable Lordship to be advertised, that this 4th we are informed by several espials, coming to either of us, that the army of Scotland is coming forward, and that order is given, by proclamation and otherwise, that all the subjects dwelling by North Sowtray shall march on foot, unless a nobleman, knight, man of good lands, or captains, to ride, and none others ; and all from Sowtray Southward to be their band of horsemen. The espials say they have 3000 harquebussiers made forth of all the borough towns in Scotland.

On Friday last, at their consultation at Edinburgh (the Dowager, the Duke, the Earl of Hunt-

ley, and their nobility), it was reasoned there to be a great matter for their whole realm if the army of England should give them battle, the experience whereof they had felt before. The Dowager answered that there was much spoken of an army to rise in England, but, upon her credible intelligence, she would assure them all that there was no army towards; and if there were, the same was of no great force; so as they might do their purpose without danger of England. She lodged the 3rd night at Newbottle. The 5th, in the morning she and their noblemen met in Lawder, and there concluded their purpose, where they will make their first enterprise. The Duke said on Friday last that the Dowager and Mons. Dowcell were fully determined to assail Berwick; and that he was never otherwise moved by the Dowager and Docell but to assay that pece.* The ordnance, provisions, and victuals, come forward, as we before have advertised your Lordship. All the nobility of their realm, and that power they may make, are in this army, and in their best order. The espials say that Wednesday night they will approach near Tweed, and upon Thursday at their purpose. The Earl of Huntley has the vayward, the Duke the battle, and the Earl of Cassilis, and their nobility of their West, the rear ward. The espials say that if they see the army on this side they will strengthen themselves on their own ground.

* Fortified places were generally so called.

We know your Lordship's noble wisdom will consider these ; the surety of this peace of Berwick, and the time as presently it is, to be better furnished. And Almighty God send unto your Lordship as prosperous success as your own noble heart can desire.

At the King's and Queen's Majesties' castle of Berwick, the 4th of September, 1557.

Your Lordship's, at commandment,

THOMAS WHARTON.
WILLIAM EURE.*

To the right honourable and our singular good Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Lieutenant in the North Parts. Haste, post, haste, haste for thy life, life, life, life, life, life, haste for thy life.

* William, second Lord Eure, or Evers, son of Sir Ralph Eure, by Margery, daughter of Sir Ralph Bowes, of Streatham Castle in Durham, succeeded his grandfather, William, in the title, and was bred to the profession of arms. He is styled in a very fine pedigree of his family, preserved in the College of Arms, "Gulielmus de Eure, Miles (cuius jussu delineatur) Dominus Eure, olim Capitaneus Castri et Villæ Barwici." He was joined to Lord Wharton in that command, and in the Wardenship, not long before the date of this letter, and his commission was renewed in the 1st of Elizabeth. In 1570 he served under the Earl of Sussex on the borders, and in Scotland ; and in 1587 was appointed, with the Earl of Rutland, to treat of a league with the Scots. He married Margaret, daughter of Sir Edward Dymoke, of Scrivelsby in Lincolnshire, by whom he had five sons ; Ralph, his successor ; Francis ; William ; Charles ; and Charles ; and six daughters ; Anne, married to John, son and heir of Sir William Mallory ; Muriel, to Richard Goodrick, of Ribston in Yorkshire ; Martha, to Sir William Armine ; Mary, Margaret, and Elizabeth. Lord Eure died Feb. 12, 1593—4.

Upon the failure of this nobleman's male line, the family estates which were very valuable, particularly in Yorkshire, were inherited by his great great grand-daughters, Margaret, wife of Thomas, son of Sir Thomas Danby, and Mary, wife of William Palms, of Ashwell in Rutlandshire, and Linley in Yorkshire. From the de-

No. XLVII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. D. fol. 167.)

THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY
TO SIR WILLIAM PETRE.

Good Mr. Petre,

AFTER my very hearty commendations, with like thanks for all your friendship, and gentle offer of the continuance thereof, for the which I am, and always shall be, as ready to do you what pleasure may lie in my power as any friend you have, whereof I pray you to think yourself right well assured. And where, according to the Queen's Majesty's order, I did repair to Brauncepeth for consultation for her Highness's affairs, as well with my very good Lord the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, and the Bishop of Durham, as also with the Lord Dacres, it was thought most convenient, both by me and also by all their Lordships, that immediately after the consultation, I should return thence: for that they all thought that my presence there should as well procure the Scots to prepare an army to those frontiers, and by that means annoy the inhabitants there, as also be an occasion to put her Majesty to further charges, which our study was, as much as we could, to avoid. And now, forasmuch as her Highness's pleasure is I shall

scendants of the latter an ancestor of the late Marquis of Rockingham purchased a considerable part, particularly Malton, where the Lords Eure had a magnificent mansion. The title became extinct in George, Lord Eure, a violent sectary, and a man of singular character, who represented the county of York in Cromwell's House of Commons, and lived till the beginning of the last century.

return with that speed I can, either thither or to Newcastle, I am enforced to crave at her Majesty's hands my entertainment of a Lieutenant ; without which I am not able to serve, that had in the like service by one whole year together, at Darneton, as I think you know, £ 5 a day allowed for my own diet and 100 men, in wages, horsemen, after the 9d. the day a-piece, (for that all my men of necessity must needs have their horses with them) at which time neither my charges were so great by far, nor my travels so many, as now they are. In which matter, as in all others I have, I heartily pray you I may have your furtherance and friendship as you may ; for that without it I can by no means be able to maintain that estate, neither for her Highness's honour, nor my own poor honesty ; as knoweth Almighty God, who send you, as my assured friend, as well to do as I would myself.

From York, the 11th of September, 1557.

No. XLVIII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. D. fol. 173.)

THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY
TO THE EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

My very good Lord,
AFTER my right hearty commendations to your good Lordship with like thanks for your gentle advertisements, whereby perceiving, in one point, your earnest request to know what wages, and other rewards, the Captains of horsemen and foot-

men, with their soldiers shall have ; of which matter albeit by the example of Sir Thomas Wharton's band, I thought your Lordship should have been long before this time ascertained, by their order and usage prescribed by the Queen's Majesty unto them ; yet forasmuch as I perceive your Lordship does not know the certainty thereof, I have thought meet to signify the same that since my being at Brauncepeth I have received letters from my Lords of the Council, and there enclosed a schedule of rates of some particular furniture for the army. Wherein it appears her Highness is pleased that the captain of 100 horsemen has for his entertainment 6s. by the day, his petty-captain 3s. ; the captain of 100 footmen, 4s. by the day, his petty-captain, 2s. ; the horseman, 9d. by the day for his wages, and at the pay-day, 3d. reward, of her Majesty's mere liberality ; the footmen by day, 6d., and at the pay-day, 2d. in reward, of her Highness's like liberality, which rates I think your Lordship may well execute and follow. And, where I perceive by your Lordship's said letters, the good success of the exploit taken in hand by my cousin your brother, I do not a little rejoice thereat ; and have by my letters signified the same to my Lords of the Privy Council, whom I have desired to make report thereof to her Highness. And so for this time I commit your good Lordship to the tuition of Almighty God.

From York, the 15th of September, 1557.

No. XLIX.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. D. fol. 177.)

LORD WHARTON

TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

Right honourable and my singular good Lord,

It may please your Lordship to be advertised that by all intelligence I can learn from out of Scotland, the Scots prepared an army, to be levied throughout their whole realm, and to be near Edinburgh upon Michaelmas day. I am informed, also, that they carted 12 great pieces of ordnance at Edinburgh, to be brought with the army, besides that they have in their fort at Aymouth. Mons. Docell moves to assail Berwick (the Scot's say Norham and Wark) with devastating the country. Their warnings are to have forty days' victuals, and to come forward to meet the army of England at the river Tweed. The Duke of Chatelherault is moved to take the chief leading of that army. An espial this last night has told me that the Scots much grudge against this war, occasioned by the French; and say that there are sundry noblemen in Scotland who would have peace with this realm. And, as he says to me, if device were made they would treat therefor, setting France apart, for presently they are discomfited with the great victories the King's Majesty has had over the French; and that the Scots do not trust the fair promises of the French, nor in their assistance as the Scots looked for. I have advertised my very good

Lord of Northumberland of these, and such intelligence as I have had from time to time since my last letters to your Lordship of the 7th of this instant ; and have given knowledge, and conferred with my friends, Sir James Croft, and Sir Ralph Bulmer ;* whereof I think my said Lord of Northumberland, and they, have made advertisements to your Lordship.

The Scots make inroads almost nightly, and do great annoyance. And, resting at your Lordship's honourable commandment, I beseech Almighty God send unto the same most prosperous success in all the King's and Queen's Majesties' affairs.

From the King and Queen's Majestie's castle of Berwick, the 18th of September, 1557.

Your Lordship's at commandment,

THOMAS WHARTON.

*To the right honourable and my singular
good Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury,
Lord Lieutenant in the North. Post
haste, haste, for thy life, for thy life,
for thy life.*

* Sir James Crofts, or Croft, a Member of the Council in the North. Elizabeth appointed this gentleman Comptroller of her Household, and trusted him with the management of several important affairs.—Sir Ralph Bulmer, eldest son of Sir John Bulmer, of Wilton in Durham, who was attainted in the preceding reign.

No. L.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. D. fol. 194.)

LORDS OF THE COUNCIL
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

AFTER our right hearty commendations to your good Lordship; we have received your letters of the 19th of this month, together with the copies as well of our very good Lord the Earl of Northumberland's letter written unto you, as also of the French and Scot's instructions touching the taking and ransoming of prisoners on either side; upon the perusing whereof, and of such other letters as you lately sent unto us touching the Scots' doings, we have thought meet for answer unto the same to signify unto you as followeth. First, the Queen's Majesty (considering the several advertisements that have been sent hither, both from your Lordship, and from the Lord Dacres, and others, of the preparation that the spies say that the Scots do make to have the whole force of that realm in a readiness against the 2nd of October) thinks good, and so requires your Lordship, that you do not only write unto every of the Wardens, and to the Lord Wharton also, to have continual spies in Scotland, and to understand from day to day, and time to time, the said Scots' assemblies; what their numbers shall be; what purpose or enterprise they mind to take in hand; against what time; who shall have the charge; with such like; but also

that as you shall be informed, and understand these things to be true, so to give order for the defence of the borders, and to have good numbers assembled in such places where they may both best defend themselves and the country, or cut off the victuals, or otherwise annoy the enemy, as opportunity may serve. And therewithal, also, lest the enemy might find relief from our own provisions, to foresee that they find no victuals; but that the cattle be brought further into the realm, and all other victuals put in safety.

And, because it appeareth that there is not now such store of bows there as were convenient if the army should go forwards, like as we signified unto you by our late letters, that ye might take those that be at Hull, so is her Highness' pleasure ye shall do, and make as good shift with them as ye can until some further supply may be sent from hence, which shall be with as good speed as we can, order being already taken with the Master of the Ordnance for that purpose, as by his letters lately sent unto your Lordship ye may at better length perceive. As for money, it hath been already by our last letters written unto you that, if the army do set forward, ye may use that treasure that hath been already sent thither about the advancing of the said army: and, upon knowledge from your Lordship of the marching forward of the same, her Majesty will take order that a further supply of money shall be sent unto you out of hand.

As touching such gentlemen as ye say are fallen sick, and some dead ; her Highness seeth now none other remedy, for the supply of their want upon this sudden, but that your Lordship must in their stead appoint some such other skilful persons as you shall by your discretion think most convenient ; which her Highness requireth you to do out of hand, so as the army be in no wise unfurnished of convenient officers when it shall set forth. And because it is to be thought that the Scots will not enterprise any invasion upon this realm with a main force unless they be of some strength, her Majesty thinketh convenient that ye take with you from out of these hither parts 10,000 men at the least, whereof as many to be horsemen as you can by any means get ; so as, together with the force of the borders, the army may be of an 18,000 or 16,000 men, at the least. As for victuals, Abingdon, who is appointed to provide victuals for Berwick, is now remaining there, and will provide for the victualling of all those that be upon the borders, which must be one great part of the army ; and as for those that your Lordship shall bring with you, you must cause the country to follow the army with victuals ; and, as we think, if Abingdon have warning given him from your Lordship in time, he will also help with some furniture for the army that shall come with you ; for which purpose I, the Lord Treasurer, will in like manner write unto him. And where your Lordship thinks there will be lack of car-

riages, we doubt not but that there are enough to be found in the country there for the furniture of a greater number of men than shall go forth now, if your Lordship will use your authority, which in this case you must needs do.

We have also perused the Scots articles touching prisoners; and, although we reckon the same to be of no great importance, and rather to be moved by the Scots for a brag, or for some practice, than for any good meaning, yet, for some answer to the same, we think, touching the ransom of prisoners, that it is not convenient that any of the degree of a Baron, or upwards, should be set at any certainty, but to remain at the Prince's pleasure; and for all under the degree of a Baron to be ransomed as they can agree with their taker. And as for that article where the Scots do require to have such punished as shall lack the cross, or token of the realm they be of, we like the same well; so as, if it be agreed upon, your Lordship do give warning thereof in time unto all your soldiers, captains, and others, to the end they may know the penalty, and provide for the remedy thereof by having each man his cross upon him as is said. We do also think fit that all chaplains, heralds, trumpeters, and other like officers, be free, according to the ancient law of arms. All which orders being agreed upon, it shall suffice they be followed and kept, by the agreement of the Lieutenants, or Wardens, without any further confirmation. And thus, having written our opi-

nions, with the Queen's Majesty's resolutions to the points before touched, her Highness refers the ordering of all other things that are to be done for her Majesty's service, and the meeting with the Scots, to be used by your Lordship's discretion in such sort as ye shall think most expedient, according to the authority and commission given you in that behalf. And thus we bid your Lordship right heartily well to fare. From Westminster, the 24th of September, 1557.

Postscript. Since the writing of these we have received your letters of the 20th of this month ; whereby we perceive as well that the intelligence of the Scots preparation to set forth is confirmed by the Lord Wharton's espial, as also the order that you have taken for the setting forward of the Queen's Majesty's army to meet with the Scot's attemptats : and, like as we do well commend your Lordship's good diligence and foresight, so, nevertheless, does the Queen's Majesty think good that, giving every man warning to be in a full and perfect readiness, so as ye may upon the sudden advance forwards as the Scots' doings shall give you cause, you do, notwithstanding, foresee that the army do not assemble, and go forwards, before you shall be sure that the Scots do the like, lest (if you should set forth with the main army before they come forwards on their part) you should consume the victuals of the country without doing of any thing, and so to be fain for want of provision

to return back, and spend the Queen's treasure in vain ; whereunto ye must have special regard. As for the officers of the army that you desire may be rated, your Lordship knows that we sent you a schedule of the said rates, enclosed in our letters of the 1st of this month ; of the receipt whereof you wrote yourself unto us, and seemed to like the same well enough, saving that you said there wanted in that book the General of the Footmen, the Master of the Ordnance, and the Provost Marshal ; which, indeed, we omitted on these considerations ; First, we thought then, and so think still, that, because the footmen are to be divided into the vayward, rearward, and battle, and so to be under several men's charges, there needeth not any General over them : and as for the Master of the Orduance, he was left out of our book, for that there was no such officer named in the book sent by you before unto us ; howbeit, seeing he is a necessary officer, the Queen's Majesty is now pleased you shall appoint some fit person to occupy that room ; allowing to him for his entertainment 13*s.* 4*d.* by the day. The Provost Marshal was by us thought might well be spared, because there is a Knight Marshall appointed, who may well enough discharge that office : and as for the men that you think meet should be allowed in wages unto the Treasurer * of the army your

* It seems to have been usual to allow to each officer a certain retinue, proportioned to his rank, and rated as soldiers. He probably received their pay : maintained them, or perhaps but a

Lordship may appoint unto him such a number as you shall by your discretion think convenient.

And, because it is considered here that the having of men of service about you shall stand you to good stead, the Queen's Majesty, knowing the wisdom and skill of John Brend, Esq., in the leading and ordering of footmen, wherein he has had long experience, has thought meet to send him presently unto your Lordship; whom you may use about the ordering of the army, or in such other things as, upon conference with him, you shall think him most fit to be employed in. And if you shall think meet to have any other skilful persons sent unto you hence, her Highness, upon knowledge thereof from you, will take order for the sending thither out of hand of such as shall be fit for that purpose. And, to the intent that if the Scots should come upon the sudden they may not find the pieces upon the borders unprovided for, the Queen's Majesty requires your Lordship to write unto the Wardens, and take such order with them, as all the forts, castles, and pieces, that are of importance, and stand in danger of the enemy, may be so substantially furnished of men, victuals, munition, ordnance, and all other things necessary, as they may be able to stand upon their

small part of the number prescribed, at a low expense; and kept the surplus by way of perquisite. (*See too a letter of the 11th of this month.*) This paper, though deficient in point of historical information, is well worthy of a place here, for the insight that it gives us into the military economy of that time in almost all its branches.

guard, and resist the enemy till further rescue may come unto them.

Your loving friends,

NICO. EBOR, Cancel.

WINCHESTER.

HENRY JERNEGAN.

JO. BOURNE.

E. WALDEGRAVE.

JOHN MASON.*

EDMUND PECKHAM.†

*To our very good Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury,
Lord President of the King and Queen's
Majesties' Council in the North, and their
Highness' Lieutenant there.*

* Sir John Mason, Knight, born at Abingdon in Berkshire, of the meanest parents. His mother's brother, a monk, caused him to be educated at Oxford, where he became a fellow of All Soul's College, and Sir Thomas More meeting with him there, recommended him to Hen. VIII., who sent him to the University of Padua; whence returning, he was appointed Secretary for the French tongue in 1546, and in the same year obtained a grant, jointly with Sir William Paget, of the office of Master of the Posts, with an annual fee of £ 66. 13. 4. He was soon after sworn of the Privy Council, and served the King in several embassies in the last years of his reign. Under Edward VI. he was a Secretary of State, a Master of the Requests, and, though a layman, held several church preferments, particularly the Deanery of Winchester, being, according to Cauden, "a man of learning and gravity, but a great devourer of church lands." He was also Chancellor of the University of Oxford, which office he resigned in favour of Cardinal Pole, but was re-elected in 1559, being then Treasurer of the Queen's Chamber. He was a great benefactor to his native town, for which he procured a charter of incorporation and the establishment of its fine almshouse, to which he gave a large sum. Sir John Mason was married, but left no issue: he died April 21, 1566, and was buried in St. Paul's cathedral: the children of his two brothers inherited his property, and settled in Hampshire, where their posterity remained, in or about Winchester, at the end of the sixteenth century.

† Sir Edmund Peckham, Knight, second son of Peter Peckham, of Denham in Bucks, by his first wife, Agnes, daughter of —— Crowton of London. As the zealous historians of this reign have made it a mere collection of last dying speeches and confes-

No. LI.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. D. fol. 209.)

THE EARL OF DERBY
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

AFTER my very hearty commendations unto your good Lord. Like as perceiving by the contents

sions, it furnishes but scanty materials for biography, except in the ecclesiastical line. This gentleman's name occurs in no piece of history but Burnet's of the Reformation, which vaguely styles him "Treasurer to King Edward VI." No. XXXII. of our papers of the reign of Henry VIII. informs us that he was Cofferer of the Household, and General Receiver of the Benevolence levied in 1544. He was also of the Privy Council to the last-named Prince, and one of the assistant executors of his will. It appears from Haynes's papers that he was one of the persons who assembled the forces of Bucks, and the adjacent shires, at Drayton, the Lord Paget's house, in support of Mary's title, and that he was a commissioner for the examination of the Duke of Northumberland and his confederates. Several warrants directed to him, for the payment of large sums of money to various persons are mentioned in the minutes of Mary's Council preserved in that collection, but it cannot be determined from the nature of them whether he was then Treasurer of the Household or Chancellor of the Exchequer: the former is most probable. In the first and fourth years of this reign he served as knight of the shire for Bucks, where he possessed a large landed property, particularly the estates of Denham and Bittlesden Abbey. He married Anne, daughter of John Cheyney, of Chesham - Boys and Drayton - Beauchamp, in that county, (who died in May 1550) and had by her Sir Robert, likewise a Privy Counsellor; John; Edmund; George, knighted in 1570; (*see No. CLV. of the next reign*) and two daughters; Amphillis, who died in March, 1545; and Dorothy, who married Edmund Verney, and, dying May 23rd, 1547, was buried at Bittlesden. Sir Edmund Peckham was buried at Denham, April 18th, 1564.

This eminent family, which retired into privacy soon after Elizabeth's accession, is not recorded in the Herald's College: the genealogical account here given was most obligingly communicated by the late Benjamin Way, Esq., F.R. and A.S., possessor of a considerable part of the estates which formerly belonged to them. That gentleman further informed me that the heart of Sir Robert Peckham, who died at Rome, September 13th, 1569, is deposited in a leaden box in the family vault at Denham, where, upon a late examination, it was found in a dry and withered state, but perfectly whole; unfortunately for the memory of the late owner, in an age when canonization is rather out of fashion.

of your letters of the 25th of September, the which I received on Michaelmas-eve, that, upon further intelligence and considerations, and for the avoiding of the Queen's Majesty's great and excessive charges (minding, for this present, to resist the Scottish doings with a less force than the whole army, and if it may be) have therefore willed me to stay myself, and the force of Lancashire and Cheshire, at home for this present, your Lordship's former letters to me addressed notwithstanding ; and yet to remain in such perfect readiness as I and they may come forwards hereafter, upon any sudden warning, if the occasion shall so require ; even so have I given present order with the captains and soldiers of both shires touching the same. And have likewise sent unto your Lordship the numbers appointed, and the names of sundry of the Captains, in both shires ; whereof many are sick, and not able to serve, as they have signified me ; with further credence in those things and others, by my servant, this bearer, whom I heartily desire your Lordship to credit ; saving that I have omitted the captains of my own retinue, the which shall be always ready. Advertising your Lordship that I do estimate the distance hence to the New Castle to be 200 miles, and from Cheshire 120. And albeit that it were something less charges to have greater numbers forth of Lancashire, considering the distance, than the rates of the certificates of both shires doth extend unto, yet my full trust is that your Lordship will please (the rather at this my request) to burden the same

shires alike, rateable according to their several certificates ; the which is 3000 for Lancashire and 2000 for Cheshire ; and not to overcharge the nearest for so small a matter, like as your Lordship has done even now, for which I am very sorry. And no doubt John Osbaldeston, as you will find, being appointed a Captain by your letter, is not meet for the purpose ; as knoweth our Lord God, who ever preserve your good Lordship in health and honour.

From my house at New Park, the 29th of September, 1557.

Your Lordship's assured friend and cousin,

EDWARD DERBY.*

CAPTAINS IN THE COUNTY OF LANCASTER.

Sir Richard Molyneux, Knt, or his son and heir ; a feeble man himself	- - - - -	200
Sir Thomas Gerard, Knt.	- - - - -	200
Sir Thomas Talbot, Knt.	- - - - -	200
Sir Richard Houghton, Knt., not able himself, but will furnish an able gentleman to be Captain, because he is not able to go himself doth furnish but	- - - - -	100
Sir Thomas Hesketh, and others with him	-	100
Sir Thomas Langton 50, Sir William Norris 50, neither of them able, but will furnish an able Captain	- - - - -	100

* Edward, third Earl of Derby of the Stanleys ; celebrated for his unbounded liberality and the princely style of his household. He died October 24th, 1572, "with whom," says Camden, "the glory of hospitality was in a manner laid asleep."

Sir William Radcliffe, or his son and heir Alexander, who is a handsome gentleman and Sir John Atherton joined with him	-	100
Francis Tunstall and others	-	100
Sir John Holcroft, or his son and heir, Richard Ashton, of Mydd, and others	-	100

Item, the rest appointed in Lancashire are of
my retinue.

CAPTAINS IN THE COUNTY OF CHESHIRE.

Sir John Savage, Knt.	-	-	-	-	200
Sir William Brereton, Knt.	-	-	-	-	200
Sir John Warburton, Knt., 50 ; Sir Edward Warren, Knt., 50 ; neither of them able to serve, but will furnish an able Captain apiece	-	-	-	-	100
Sir Thomas Holcroft, Knt.	-	-	-	-	100
Sir Thomas Venables, Knt., the Sheriff, and will furnish an able Captain	-	-	-	-	100
Sir Lawrence Smith, with others adjoined	-	100			
Sir Philip Egerton, with others with him	-	100			
Sir John Dawney, Knt., not able, as I am advertised	-	-	-	-	100
Sir William Davenport, Knt., with others ; Robt. Hide of Narbury, to supply his room	100				
Sir Rowland Stanley, Knt., and others	-	-	100		
Sir Hugh Cholmondeley, Knt., and others	-	100			
Sir Urien Brereton, Knt., and others	-	-	100		
Sir Edward Fytton, Knt.	-	-	-	100	
Sir John Lee, of Booth, Knt., and others	-	100			
Ralph Dutton, Archer, and others	-	-	100		
Richard Brook, 20.—The Ward's tenants, 80	100				

Robert Tatton, Archer John Lee, and others ;
 Robert Tatton very evil at ease, and will
 furnish an able Captain - - - - 100
 Sum total, 2000 men

*To the right honourable and my very good
 Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lieutenant of
 the North, his good Lordship, give this.*

No. LII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. D. fol. 224.)

JOHN ABINGTON
 TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

MY duty most humbly considered, these are to desire your honourable Lordship to cause the Mayor and Officers of Newcastle to send away the ships laden with corn, victuals, and other necessaries ; whereof there is, and will be, great want here, at the coming of your Lordship. Your Lordship must be very earnest with the owners of the ships to send them away ; for I perceived that they were unwilling to come hither, by the reason that they made to your Lordship to have the corn carried by land ; which is impossible to do, for all the carriages between York and Newcastle, and all the sacks within 20 miles of Newcastle, will not serve that turn.* And therefore eftstones I

* This remarkable passage conveys a full and melancholy idea of the misery to which the northern counties were now reduced by the war on the borders. When we consider their present state of agriculture, trade, and population, be it recollect that two centuries back all the waggons between York and Newcastle, and all the sacks within twenty miles of the latter town, would not

desire your Lordship that the ships may be compelled to come away; whose long lying there, as I am informed, has almost spilled the grain that they carry; which seems to me that the owners of the ships slightly consider. And thus I desire of God to send you long honourable life.

From Berwick, the 5th of October, 1557.

Your humble at commandment,

JOHN ABINGDON.

*To the right hon. the Earl of Shrewsbury,
Lord President and Lieutenant of these
North Parts. In haste, haste.*

No. LIII.

FRAGMENT.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. D. fol. 228. Oct. 6th, 1557.)

THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY
TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.

It may please your honourable Lordships to be advertised that the coming forwards of the Scottish army has now full appearance that they mind to enter England, all intelligences agreeing to that effect; and that they mind to pass the Tweed about Newcastle and Kelsoe, and so come to batter Wark, and afterwards Norham, making small doubt to win them. Their coming has somewhat slacked, for they were looked for in England

suffice for the conveyance of perhaps five hundred quarters of wheat from Newcastle to Berwick. A retrospect of such circumstances will furnish arguments against faction and innovation too powerful to be answered by a whole library of political speculations.

yesterday ; and it is now thought they cannot approach Wark before Saturday, for the Duke of Chatelherault, named General of this army, was not yesterday come out of Edinburgh ; and their great ordnance, which comes to them from Dunbar and Eyemouth, was not yesterday in the morning set forward ; for the French would not suffer the same to depart without the convoy of some great man. There has been a great drought in these quarters, but, notwithstanding the Tweed has been very high. All the power of the Wardenry assembled to the Lord Warden this day ; who (having with him Sir James Crofts, Sir Ralph Bulmer, and Turner ; with all the gentlemen and power of his Wardenry ; with all the garrisons, being of Berwick, Norham and Wark) is attent upon the enemy, well minded, and instructed by good circumspection, and wary doing, to shew to the enemy, in annoying him, and defending of the country.

There are placed within Wark, Captain Slingsby, with 100 men, and Captain Read with 100 ; whereof many are harquebusiers, and good soldiers taken out of Berwick. There are in Norham Mr. Norton with 100 men, Captain Stirley 100, and of the Bishoprick 100, with harquebusiers out of Berwick 20 ; and in Berwick, presently, 1600 ; besides the old garrison, pioneers, and the inhabitants ; my Lord Warden having commission, if he see any occasion, to put in 600 more of , if the garrison upon the sudden of need shall require. And, although the most intelligence

goeth, and all the likelihood is, that the enemy will not come to Berwick, yet (as well to be sure for all chances that may happen, as to put the enemy in fear that, so great a garrison being there, they might do some greatfeat in Scotland in the mean time of their being in England, or about Wark) I have taken order that of such numbers of men as arrived here yesternight and this day, Sir Thomas Talbot, Knt., with 200 men, and four bands more with their Captains, shall forthwith repair thither : and because the Scots begin already to conceit a bruit of an army , I have appointed the Lord Talbot, my son, to repair to-morrow towards Alnwick, with 1600 men, to supply the Lord Warden such numbers as he shall require ; and, as need shall be, to repair to him with his whole company, and have sent with him John Fitzwilliams and John Brickenden ; John Brend remaining here still with me.

No. LIV.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. D. fol. 238.)

THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY
TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

THE entry of the Scots into England, whereof, and of their setting forwards, the intelligence that came so hot at the time of my last letters have since somewhat slacked, through diversity of opinions, as it is said, among themselves, and partly through the foul weather and rising of the water ;

but now it is certainly affirmed that the whole nobility of Scotland is come to the frontiers, and, as the intelligence goes, waiting upon the fall of the water ; and mind this night to encamp about Hawdon Ridge, near unto Wark, and so to bring their ordnance over the Tweed. Hereupon the Lord Warden has assembled the garrisons nearer together ; which, with the power of his Wardenry, lay scattered abroad in the villages from Morpeth forwards ; doubting lest, lying together, they should waste the country and want victuals. And this day, also, my son, who lay at Alnwick, is set forward to my Lord Warden, with such power as I sent with him. And my Lord of Westmorland, who, notwithstanding that he has been sore dis-eased of the gout these four or five days, will be, with the rest of his horsemen, being to the number of 300, at Alnwick to-morrow ; and upon Wednesday in the morning repair to my Lord Warden, to join with him as the service shall require ; and I have sent forward 600 footmen more, as a further supply to my son, the Lord Talbot ; and with them their Captains, John Jennings and Thomas Colly. Thus I am compelled to enforce the power by little and little, and by degrees ; lest, by lying together, and coming all at once, we should, for want of victuals, be compelled to retire before the enemy. And although the bruit, the appearance, and the intelligence, have a great while, and now most of all, showed that the enemies either are this day entered England, or will do immediately ; yet, considering the matter in reason, with the long

delay of their coming, the time of the year, and the manner of their lying (which was yesterday in three parts, one at Dunse,* the second at Kelso, and the third at Ancram and Jedworth) I think it may come to pass that, considering the countenance of our force and preparation, they might now rather change their purpose, to lie at the defence of their own country, than, otherwise, to invade till the light of the moon be wasted; which, if they do, the strife will be which of us may continue longest together for the time of the year, and want of victuals. Notwithstanding, to prevent the worst, I have done and wrought in such sort as I have written unto your Lordships; and shall do further as occasion, my force and furniture shall serve me.

There came yesterday hither a Scottish herald, sent to me with a letter from the Earl of Huntley; which contained no matter but only for the delivery of two Scotchmen that were stayed, which thing has been fully answered before by the Commissioners at Carlisle; and, because it appeared only a pretence to spy our doings, I have stayed him, with promise of answer, after knowledge of the matter had from my Lord Wharton; and so do mind to stay him awhile, till further knowledge be had of the enemy's purpose. And so, &c.

From Newcastle, the 11th of October, 1557.

* A pretty large market town, with a castle, nine miles N. W. of Berwick. It was the birth-place of the famous Johannes Duns Scotus.

No. LV.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. D. fol. 244.)

THE EARL OF WESTMORLAND TO
THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

AFTER my most hearty commendations unto your good Lordship, these shall be to advertise the same that I came to Alnwick yesternight; in which travel I sustained some pains, because I would no fault should be imputed unto me so long as I am able to labour. The waters were so great that I never saw them greater; so that, although we were driven to leave the highway and seek bye-ways, yet did our horses swim in many places; where, if your Lordship had been, you should have seen such ducking of men and horses, as if it had been for heat at Midsummer: I was also glad to leave my carriages at Morpeth, which could not pass for water. I met here three letters, two to your Lordship and one to myself, wherein my Lord Warden writeth unto me that he has given commandment to his harbingers to place me and my men at Bellforth, where I purpose to be this day, according to his appointment, and there to remain till I hear further from his Lordship.

I opened one of your Lordship's letters, whereby I understand the Bishoprick men do covet to come home, and that there pass not 4000 men of them. As I remember, your Lordship told me there was 100 horsemen of the Bishoprick; but I believe it will fall out there are no horsemen here but mine, except it be Robert Tempest's. I have seen

the Bishoprick serve at such a time with 1000 men; but it will be so no more, so long as the gentlemen and rich farmers are suffered to tarry at home, and a sort of poor creatures and men hired for money sent forth, which have nothing to help themselves withal. I am sorry to see such an untowardness to serve in the Bishoprick men as is now, but I know not in whom the fault is. Thus I commit your good Lordship to Almighty God.

From Alnwick, the 13th of October, 1557.

Your Good Lordship's assured friend,

HENRY WESTMORELAND.

*To the right honourable and my very good Lord
the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord President of
the King's and Queen's Majesties' Council
established in the North, and their High-
nesses' Lieutenant - General from Trent
Northward.*

No. LVI.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. D. fol. 231.)

INTELLIGENCE FROM SCOTLAND.

IT is said that the Earl of Huntley either is indeed sick, or else feigneth himself sick, and does not come forwards in this journey. Also it is said that the army is dispersed, for that they understand that there should be a navy of ours sailed towards Moray Frith, and that such as do dwell beyond the Frith be returned for defending of their country.

It is also said that the Earl of Argyle has returned his whole companies of Irishmen, for

that the Earl of Sussex and the Earl of Desmond are in arms in England ; so, as it is thought that their army will not come forwards, for no greater force thereof than are at the appointment of the Dowager, for the intended service.

There is also great contention and strife about the Lord James' lands,* between the Lord James and others. Also it is said that they agree not in Teviotdale among themselves, nor in many other places in Scotland.

No. LVII.

(*Talbot Papers*, vol. D. fol. 248.)

LORD WHARTON AND EURE

TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

PLEASE your honourable Lordship, in our due manner, to be advertised that this 18th we are informed by intelligence† that the Scotch noblemen had consultation together yesterday ; and, finding the weather most contagious, the time of the year for the army not good, their men running away, dying, and in misery, resolved to send to the Dow-

* The Queen Dowager, after the death of the Earl of Murray, bastard to James IV., granted the Earldom, and, as we may infer from this passage, the estates of the deceased, to the Earl of Huntley, perhaps as an equivalent for the Chancellorship, of which she deprived him about this time, in order to bestow it on Roubais, a Frenchman. When Queen Mary returned from France she restored the seals to Huntley, but divested him of the Earldom of Murray and its appendages, which she gave to her natural brother, the Prior of St. Andrews, now commonly called the Lord James, and probably reputed as heir to his uncle.

† The term "intelligence" in the papers of this time is always to be understood in a limited sense —intelligence from spies, or espials, as they were then called

ager that they would not continue together with that power, and that she should thereunto trust ; and this 18th they would confer, and devise to furnish their frontiers for this winter. The message was sent accordingly, and this day they do meet for that purpose, as the intelligence says ; and to-morrow, or in this next night, mind to retire and to depart to their countries. The Earl of Huntley was against their opinion ; and, thereupon, they were so offended with him, and said that he should have no rule of their doings, and restrained his liberty for that day.* Expressly they said they could do nothing at this time to the honour of their realm. The intelligence says that they brought over Tweed yesterday four pieces of ordnance ; in the passing over, two men and eight horses were drowned. Your Lordship may confer this intelligence with others. And Almighty God send unto your Lordship most prosperous success to your noble heart's desire. At the King and

* The Earl of Huntley's conduct on this memorable occasion hath never been mentioned by historians. It may be probably ascribed to his hatred of the reformed religion, the professors of which were now a very numerous party. We cannot have a stronger proof of the disgust and anger of the disaffected Lords than their venturing on so bold a measure as the imprisonment of Huntley, by far the most powerful and wealthy of their nobility, at a time when wealth and power were superior to law and justice. This letter and the next furnish us with the precise time when this remarkable dispute between the Queen Regent and the Nobles occurred, which caused so immediate an alteration in the system of Scottish politics ; obliging that Princess to fly to the Protestants for aid ; to become the ostensible patroness of a reformation which her heart detested ; and to join in measures evidently calculated for the overthrow of monarchy.

Queen's Majesties' castle of Berwick, the 18th of October, 1557.

Your good Lordship's at commandment,

THOMAS WHARTON.

WILLIAM EURE.

*To the right honourable and our singular good
Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Lieute-
nant in the North parts. Post, haste, haste,
for thy life, for thy life, for thy life.*

No. LVIII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. D. fol. 251.)

THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Indorsed "Oct. 20."

IT may please your honourable Lordships to be advertised ; being in continual expectation, and laying daily wait of the Scots' entry into England ; having our force prepared to defend them and annoy them, in such sort as has been signified to your Lordships, and I in readiness, with 1000 men, to have set forwards, and done as the occasion of the enemies' proceeding should have required ; the Scots, whose enterprise had been much slacked with foul weather, after many consultations, and full determinations to enter England (being continually pricked forwards thereunto by the Queen and the French) were come the 17th of this instant to Eckford church, upon their driest frontiers towards Wark ; and there, as the intelligence says, falling to a new consultation, thought that, considering the time of the year, the foul weather, and the preparation made for their resistance, they



should not be able to do any thing that might stand with the honour of Scotland ; and herein sending their express determination to the Queen of their resolution, restrained the Earl of Huntley of his authority for that day because he withstood their opinion ; and hereupon encamping that night upon Hawdon Ridge, set forwards the next morning, being the 18th, and came near to Wark, having brought their ordnance over the Tweed ; and skirmished before Wark, shewing such a likelihood to have given the approach that the Englishmen within, looking for the siege, had ramparted up the gates ; yet that afternoon they brake up their camp, and retired back again and dispersed ; and so their enterprise, begun with great bravery, is ended with dishonour and shame, praise be given to God therefore. Hereupon I have presently despatched out of wages all such as were here presently with me, and mind to do the like to all the rest who were last called forth in this journey, both horsemen and footmen, detaining them only for a day or two, to see if any service can be done upon the enemy ; but the same thing which was impediment to the Scots in their enterprise is like to be let to the doing of any great matter on our part ; both the dark nights, the short days, and the high waters, there having this night past fallen a great rain.

The next point is to require your Lordship to understand the Queen's Majesty's pleasure concerning the number of such garrisons as shall continue here this winter ; wherein, upon knowledge

what order the Scots shall take for defence of their frontiers, I, upon advice from my Lord Wharton, and consultation with my Lord Warden, and other of my Lords here, shall write our opinions to your Lordships whereupon ye may signify her Highness's pleasure. The charge that the noblemen and realm of Scotland have been put to in this journey, the evil success, their stoutness in standing against the Queen, and the diversity that has been amongst them, may grow to some greater effect than can be yet well ascertained.

The Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Westmoreland, Sir Thomas Warton, Sir James Crofts, Sir Ralph Bulmer, and all the rest of the gentlemen sent down from above, and others here, each in their calling, yea and all the soldiers, have shewed in this present service great good will, much diligence and patience in doing, and suffering the weather, and want of things.

No. LIX.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. D. fol. 253.)

INTELLIGENCE.

THE 20th of October, 1557, the intelligence says to the Lord Eure and the Lord Wharton, that the Duke, the Earls of Huntley, Morton,* and Argyle,

* This nobleman, who makes so conspicuous a figure in history, will be frequently mentioned in following papers. He was at this time one of the Lords of the Congregation, through whose interest he afterwards rose to the highest offices in the State, and succeeded Lenox in the Regency; but soon after James VI. assumed the government, he was charged with concealing the conspiracy to murder the late King, and, after a very partial trial, suffered

with all the nobility, resolved to disperse the army the 18th in the morning ; and the same day these noblemen were with the Dowager, and d'Oisel,* in Kelsoe ; and there the Dowager raged, and reprieved them of their promises, which was to invade and annoy England. Their determinations to depart, and the considerations, they told her ; and thereupon arguments grew great between them, wherewith she sorrowed, and wept openly ; d'Oisel in great heaviness ; and with high words amongst them to these effects they departed. D'Oisel wished himself in France.

The Duke, with the others, passed to Jedworth ; and keeps the chosen men on their borders : the others of their great number passed to their countries. It is said that the Earl of Huntley standing with the Dowager's opinion, and war against England, the others asked plainly whether he would be a Scotsman or a Frenchmen ? and he, seeing how they were bent, agreed to their opinions.

There is a talk that the Duke and the noblemen mind to restrain the Dowager of her authority, and Docell of his great taking in hand in Scotland. It is said also that they intend to treat for peace with England by France. It is said also the Duke will give fair words to borderers until

death in June, 1581—a wise, but unprincipled man, who would have died totally unpitied, but for the infamy of his accusers, and the weak evidence on which he was condemned.

* M. d'Oisel, General of the French. His name is likewise spelled " Docell " in this paper.

he might see what way could be made with England. The Teviotdales have, or will be making, treaty for assurance. The intelligence says that they never saw a more like time for Scotland and France to disagree than now there is.

It is said also that the Duke says that the Dowager and Docell shall undertake for his son, in France, to come at his father's will into Scotland in safety. The Duke thinks he has a good pledge of the Dowager, Docell, and the Frenchmen, for his son.*

* James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, eldest son of the Duke of Chatelherault, had been for some years in France, where he was Colonel of the Scottish Guards. It is said that his zeal for the Protestant faith had betrayed him into some expressions on certain points of religious difference, so grossly offensive, that the French Court had determined to put him to death; which he avoided by a *precipitate* flight, and returned to Scotland, according to Dr. Robertson, who quotes Thuanus, in 1559. This account is remarkably improbable. In the long and bloody persecution of the Huguenots, which commenced about this time, we do not find a single instance of a distinguished foreigner having suffered for his religion; and surely it is unlikely that the heir of the most illustrious family in Scotland, where the French were then attempting by all means to gain a permanent interest, should be selected for the first victim. The Earl probably had been guilty of some other offence, which hath not fallen under the observation of historians; and the French, though they durst not punish him with severity, would not allow him to leave the country. We may infer from this paper that he was detained against his inclination, and that his father was apprehensive for his safety; but it was written two years before his return, and the punishment of religious offenders was always secret and sudden. This unfortunate young nobleman, who was encouraged to make his addresses to Elizabeth soon after she mounted the Throne, and afterwards to his own Sovereign, appears always to have laboured under the misery of a disordered imagination, which historians ascribe to the refusal of those Princesses; and at last, totally losing his reason, his title and estates were most unjustly conferred on James Stewart, an unworthy favourite of the youthful James. He died in 1609.

No. LX.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. D. fol. 267.)

THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY TO LORD DACRE.

Indorsed "October 26, 1557."

AFTER my right hearty commendations to your Lordship, I have received your letters of yesterday, together with the copy of the Master Maxwell's letter unto you, for the which I thank your Lordship, and do perceive thereby the inclination of the said Master for moving the Lords of Scotland to come to an amity and peace to be entertained between both realms; the beginning of which matter, growing only of their mere suit and seeking, I think will not be much disliked by the Queen's Majesty; as may appear unto your Lordship by certain words tending to that effect, being contained in a letter from her Majesty unto me, in this wise as follows.

"As touching some abstinence of war, albeit we take the same to be but a Scottish practise, yet, like as we have always for our part shewed our good inclinations to the maintenance of peace and good neighbourhood between both realms, so (although we have now, by the Scots' dealing with us, good cause given us to make them understand that they have broken the peace, and entered war with us without any just occasion) yet, if they shall on their side shew themselves inclined to peace; and will, for the better entreaty thereof, take a time of abstinence from war; we will not refuse, for the desire we have to preserve the quiet of

Christendom as much as in us may lie, to give ear thereunto. For which purpose, if it shall come to that pass, we are pleased you do agree upon an abstinence from war, for some such time as the matter may be further talked of, and debated on both sides."

So as thereby it most plainly appears that her Highness will neither accept nor agree to any such talk or motion, unless the same do only begin, and come, of their seeking ; in which case her Majesty is pleased that ear be given unto them : being, nevertheless, in mine opinion, well handled of your Lordship, forasmuch as is yet done, which me seemeth* to tend to the effect. And so for this time I bid you right heartily farewell.

No. LXI.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. P. fol. 295.)

Indorsed, " SCOTCH INTELLIGENCE." 1557.†

Certain Noblemen of Scotland who met the Queen of Scotland
at Stirling.

The Earl of Argyle The Earl of Huntley
The Earl of Angus The Earl Bothwell
with others, divers Earls and Lords, of the body
of that realm.

AND it is agreed that the Queen shall be principal
to the next Parliament, which shall be at Edin-

* Which seemeth to me.

† I have placed this paper at the end of the year 1557 in conformity to the indorsement, though I am inclined to think that it belongs to the following year. Treaties between the Queen Regent and the Lords of the Congregation were so repeatedly made and violated about this time, that it is not easy to ascertain the dates of papers which relate to the affairs of Scotland, unless they happen to allude to some great historical circumstance.

burgh, the 9th of April next; and the Governor shall be Lieutenant of all Scotland, and the second person. And the Lords of Scotland have given her answer that the French King shall have no rule of them, nor that the Frenchmen shall have any holds in Scotland, albeit they will obey the French King as they have done before. And the Governor is contented to give over the Castle of Edinburgh to the Scottish Lords; which will be on Tuesday next, and the Lord Erskine shall be Captain thereof. The Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh that is now, called Robert Hamilton, has furnished it with victuals, and taken his friends to him, and says he will not give it up to any man. And, further, the Governor shall have yearly of Scotland 5000 crowns; and all such things as he has done in time of his government shall stand still, and be of effect.

No. LXII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. B. fol. 225.)

Indorsed, "The Copy of a Letter sent unto the LORD LIEUTENANT by the JUSTICES of PEACE within the County of Derby."

Right honourable, and our singular good Lord, OUR duty most humbly remembered, may it please the same to be advertised that we have received your Lordship's honourable letters of the 23rd of March last past; which came not to the hands and notice of divers and sundry of us before the last of the same (directed, jointly, unto the Sheriff of this county of Derby, us the Justices of the Peace,

and to all Mayors, Sheriffs, Aldermen, Bailiffs of liberties, and Stewards of noblemen's lands and possessions), whereby your Lordship commands us forthwith to levy, try, arm, array, and furnish, able men, the number of 1500 footmen; as in your Lordship's said honourable letters, with instructions annexed unto the same, is more at large contained. Whereupon we, the said Justices of Peace whose names are subscribed, having assembled ourselves for the accomplishment of your Lordship's said commandment according to our most bounden duties; and considering the state of this shire, and your Lordship's prescribed number to be made in the same, have thought it very necessary and expedient to advertise your Lordship, that in this shire cannot be made, levied, and furnished, able men, above the number of 100 men, besides those who are of the inheritance, or within the offices and rules of our very good Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury; who, as we understand, has made certificate thereof unto your Lordship of his numbers. Assuring the same that there has not been made and furnished at any time of service, to our knowledge, of the subjects inhabiting within this shire above the number of 600 men; and, if at any time greater number have been brought forth of the same, it has been by reason that many and divers of the most worshipful of this shire, being commanded to serve, have had great part of their numbers forth of their possessions and offices lying in other shires, and yet the whole thereof never amounted to 900 men. Ascertaining, fur-

ther, your good Lordship that (by reason of long sickness, which has continued a great time in this country and yet continues ; and by the death of many, and those most able and tallest persons ; and also by reason that the soldiers who were appointed in the last service, in October last, many of them did not bring home again their harness and other furnitures) this poor little county was never less able to furnish any great number. Whereof like as we thought it our most bounden duty to advertise your Lordship, so having received the King's and Queen's Majesties' commission for the taxation of this subsidy, to us and others directed, for the execution whereof, dividing ourselves, some of us are constrained to sit in three or four sundry hundreds or places ; and for that cause, where it pleased your honourable Lordship, in your said instructions, to command one of us, in person, to attend upon your Lordship with our certificate the 16th of this instant, we thought it our bounden duties to prevent that time, and to advertise your Lordship hereof ; knowing that if we should send our said certificate by such one of us as is commanded in your said instructions, it would be a great hindrance and let to the execution of the said commission of subsidy, and, in our opinions, no great furtherance to the service commanded by your good Lordship.

And (to the intent your Lordship may plainly see and know as well the state of the Justices of the peace of this county as also the state of the whole shire, where the able men for this service

must be taken, levied, and made) we have sent unto your Lordship, here enclosed, a schedule plainly declaring the same, so as your good Lordship may, at your pleasure, have consideration thereof; and to take order therein as to your honourable Lordship shall seem most expedient. Most humbly requiring the same that it will please you to signify unto us your honourable pleasure and resolution in the premises, which known, we shall, by God's grace, most diligently and obediently follow and execute, according to our most bounden duties, to the uttermost of our powers, while our lives may endure; as Almighty God best knows, who long preserve your good Lordship in perfect health and much increase of honour.

From Derby, the 4th of this present April, 1558.

Your Lordship's, most humbly at commandment,

HUMPHREY BRADBORNE. FRANCIS CURSON.

THOMAS BABINGTON. RIC. BLAKEWELL.

HENRY VERNON. VINCENT MUNDIE.

THOMAS SUTTON.

No. LXIII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. P. fol. 349.)

ROBERT SWIFT

TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

PLEASE your Lordship to be advised that I have been a continual suitor unto Sir Edward Walgrave for the dispatch of Robotham's requests; and this day, at his going to the court, I delivered

the particulars from the Auditors, and he said he would attempt the suit unto the Queen's Majesty ; and I have persuaded with Robotham for the quietness of the tenants of Hertington as much as I can.

Here is a great talk that the King's Majesty should come over with speed, but the merchants strangers think that he will not come as yet, nor cannot be conveniently spared ; yet there is gone, as well to Dover as to Harwich, both horses and his wardrobe, and my Lord Admiral is gone to Dover to make preparation for him. Here is great preparation for the putting in a readiness presently of a very great army and number of soldiers ; and my Lord Treasurer, the Marquis of Winchester, is made Lieutenant - General south of the Trent, except a few shires ; and my Lord of Huntingdon and my Lord of Rutland are appointed for head officers of the army. There are at this present at Portsmouth 240 sail ready victualled. The merchants and divers others say that there is a peace now presently concluding between the King's Majesty and the French King ; and the first occasion whereof was, as I heard, by means of either the Duchess of Lorrain or of Parma's son, who are with the French King.

Oswald Wilkinson has provided your Lordship of armour ; and the said Wilkinson takes great pains to provide your Lordship of armour if we had money, and without money we can get nothing here, and I never saw money so evil to come by here. I am put in good hope to receive your

money in the Exchequer, which shall be bestowed in armour so far as it will go. Temple has £50 of your Lordship's here in the town, which, as yet, I cannot get without a bill of your Lordship's hand and seal ; which things trouble us very evil for your armour. And thus I beseech our Lord send your Lordship long and honourable life.

From London, the 14th of May, 1558.

Your Lordship's servant,

ROBERT SWIFT.

To my Lord.

ELIZABETH.

No. I.

(*Talbot Papers*, Vol. E. fol. 15.)

LORDS OF THE COUNCIL

TO THE MARQUIS OF WINCHESTER AND THE EARLS
OF SHREWSBURY AND DERBY.

AFTER our right hearty commendations to your good Lordships. Where the Queen's Majesty minds, God willing, to take her journey upon Wednesday* next to London, her Highness' pleasure is that your Lordships shall both put yourselves in readiness to attend her Majesty thither, with all your servants and train, and also give

* Queen Mary died on the 17th of November, Elizabeth being then at Hatfield, where she had for some time resided. Burnet (*Hist. of the Ref.*, vol. ii., 374.) and Echard, on the Bishop's authority, inform us that the new Queen was met at Highgate on the 19th by the Bishops, who conducted her to London, where she slept that night at the Duke of Norfolk's (then, by the by, Lord North's) in the Charter House. The incontestible authority before us fixes Wednesday, the 23rd, as the day appointed for her entry.

warning to all such noblemen remaining presently at London, whose names you shall receive in a schedule enclosed, to do the like. The order of your setting forth, and what else her Majesty wills to be done herein, your Lordships shall understand by our loving friend, Sir Ralph Sadler, who repairs unto you for this purpose ; and, for that there should not in the absence of your Lordships and the rest, want such as should see to the good order of things there, her Majesty's pleasure is that our very good Lord, the Archbishop of York shall remain at London, and call unto him, in all matters requisite for the preservation of order, our loving friends, Sir William Petre and Sir John Mason, and to confer with them therein ; which, her Highness' pleasure, we pray you to signify his Grace. And so we bid your good Lordships right hearty farewell.

Your good Lordships' assured loving friends,
 PEMBROKE. E. CLINTON.† W. HOWARD.§
 THO. PARRY.* W. CECIL.‡ A. CAVE.||

* Sir Thomas Parry, or ap Harry, alias Vaughan Knight, son and heir of Henry Vaughan, of the house of Vaughan of Tre-tower, by Gwentlyan, daughter of William ap Grono of the county of Brecknock. His family had been connected with that of Secretary Cecil by an intermarriage of a very remote date, and that minister, of whose pains to discover, and conscientious readiness to acknowledge, even his most distant relations I have many original proofs in my possession, probably introduced him to Elizabeth, in whose service he had been for some years. He was appointed Comptroller of the Household, and Master of the Court of Wards and Liveries, soon after her accession; and dying Dec. 15th, in the following year, was buried in Westminster Abbey. He married Anne, daughter of Sir William Reed, of Bore stall in Buckinghamshire, and widow successively of Sir Giles Greville and Sir Adrian Fortescue ; by which lady he had

two sons and two daughters: Sir Thomas, who will be mentioned hereafter; Edmund; Muriel, married to Sir Thomas Knevett, of Ashwelthorp, in Norfolk; and Frances, to John Abrahall, of

in the county of Hereford. Sir Thomas Parry possessed the estate of Hampstead-Marshall, in Berkshire, now belonging to Lord Craven, and built a magnificent house there, which was pulled down about a century since.

† Edward, Lord Clinton, and Lord High Admiral, afterwards created Earl of Lincoln: he died Jan. 16th, 1584. The Duke of Newcastle (Earl of Lincoln) is the heir of this very ancient noble family.

‡ Sir William Cecil, Knight, Principal Secretary; afterwards Lord Burghley, and High Treasurer. This great statesman's history is too well known to require a recital here: his abilities and political character will appear in his letters in this collection. He died August 4, 1598.

§ William first Lord Howard of Effingham, eldest son, by a second marriage, of Thomas, second Duke of Norfolk. The present Lord Howard of Effingham is descended from his second son, Sir William Howard, of Lingfield in Surrey. He had been employed in many important affairs during the three preceding reigns, and Elizabeth paid him the singular compliment of continuing him in the high offices of Lord Chamberlain and Admiral, to which he had been appointed by Queen Mary. He died Jan. 12, 1572.

|| Sir Ambrose Cave, Knight. This gentleman was one of those who owed their promotion rather to their attachment to Elizabeth and her religion than to any personal merit of their own. Having served the office of High Sheriff for Leicestershire and Warwickshire, and represented the latter county in two parliaments, he appeared at Court on her accession, and was sworn of her Privy Council, and appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. He was fifth son of Richard Cave, of Stanford in the county of Northampton, by his second wife, Margaret, daughter of Thomas Saxby, of Northampton; married Margaret, daughter and co-heir of William Willington, of Barcheston in Warwickshire, and widow of Thomas Holte; and died April 2, 1568, leaving an only child, Margaret, who married Henry Knollys, son and heir of Sir Francis Knollys, K.G.

Sir Thomas Cave, Baronet, is descended from Sir Ambrose's eldest brother, and a very long, and very erroneous, account of the family may be found in the printed Baronetages.

Noblemen appointed to attend upon the Queen's Majesty at her coming to London.

Duke of Norfolk.	The Lord Vaux.
The Earl of Oxford.	The Lord Dacre of the South.
The Earl of Worcester.	The Lord Mounteagle.
The Earl of Rutland.	The Lord Mountjoy.
The Earl of Cumberland.	The Lord Windsor.
The Earl of Huntingdon.	The Lord Riche.
The Viscount Hereford.	The Lord Darcy.
The Viscount Montague.	The Lord Chandos.
The Lord Abergavenay.	The Lord North.
The Lord Audley.	The Lord Williams of Thame.
The Lord Morley.	The Ld. Hastings of Longhoro'.
The Lord Dacre of the North.	The Lord John Grey.
The Lord Scrope.	Sir Thomas Cheney.
The Lord Lumley.	The Lord Wharton.
The Lord Zouche.	The Lord Willoughby.
The Lord Borrough.	

To our very good Lords the Marquis of Winchester, and the Earls of Shrewsbury and Derby.

No. II.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. E. fol. 25.)

LORDS OF THE COUNCIL
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

AFTER our hearty commendations to your good Lordship. Whereas the Queen's most excellent Majesty hath addressed her commission under the great seal of England to you, and others, for the assessing of the whole body of those counties of your commission for the payment of the subsidy

lately granted to her Majesty by act of parliament ; we have thought meet, considering how necessary it is to have the same commission diligently and faithfully executed, to impart to you, specially selected amongst the rest of that county, our opinions, to the furtherance of the same commission.

First, we doubt not but it has appeared (as is not unknown unto you by means of the treaty and consultation had in this last parliament) what great debts have been left to the Queen's Majesty to pay on the other side of the seas, which yet remain, and grow intolerable to the realm ; what other great charges and debts also have been left to her Highness, by reason of the wars, as well towards Scotland as in Ireland ; a great part whereof, with no small care, pains, and consideration, has been, and is, defrayed (what other charges have been since the late Queen's death, for her late Majesty's funeral, and for the coronation of our sovereign Lady now being, we leave untouched) and yet to you, being men of wisdom and experience, we cannot choose but lamentably report that the burdens, debts, and charges, have been, and are, intolerable, which has appeared, and daily does ; and pray you, as you shall have now some occasion offered unto you in the execution of this her Majesty's commission, by your earnestness and diligence, to further this help and subsidy, which hath been so frankly given as with more good will and fuller accord was never any granted ; so you will shew yourselves to have respect to this time. And if you cannot in many points amend this sub-

sidy,* (which we hope you will propose) yet to foresee, in any wise, that it be not less than has been; and for that behalf we think you shall do well to call for the former books of the subsidies in the time of Queen Mary; and thereby so direct your doings as ye may provide that, although in some places and persons there may appear some decays from that substance which they had, yet either in some other amendment may be found to recompense the others' lack, or else the parties supposed to be decayed may be perceived not less worthy at this present than they were before assessed.

And, as this subsidy has been granted to the Queen without any special labour or desire of her own person, but only of most necessary consideration by the Court of Parliament for the weal and public affairs of the realm, so we pray you to use the demand and assessment hereof, that it may appear (as true it is) nothing to the particular benefit of her Majesty; but only towards the discharge and alleviating of some part of that burden wherewith her Majesty finds this her imperial crown overcharged, by the late Queen's great debts, both on the other side of the seas and otherwise, by reason of the late wars. Finally, as our special trust is in you, so we earnestly recommend this cause unto you on her Majesty's behalf; and pray you, as you shall have cause herein to understand our minds for any further matter that may arise ye will thereof write unto us. So fare ye well.

* We may infer hence that persons of eminent wealth and loyalty sometimes made voluntary additions to their respective assessments.

From Westminster, the 22nd of May, 1559.

Your loving friends,

N. BACON,* Cust. Sigil.	WINCHESTER.
ARUNDEL.	F. BEDFORD.
E. CLINTON.	W. NORTH.
THO. PARRY.	PEMBROKE.
AB. CAVE.	W. CECIL.
RD. SACKVILLE.†	JOHN MASON.
G. ROGERS.‡	

To our very good Lord, the Earl of Shrewsbury,

Lord President of the Queen's Majesty's Coun-
cil in the North Parts.

* Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper, was a son of Robert Bacon, of Drinkston in Suffolk, a gentleman of a very ancient family in that county, by Isabella, daughter of John Cage, of Pakenham. He was born at Chiselhurst in Kent, and educated at Cambridge, and became eminent in the profession of the law in the reign of Henry VIII. He held the offices of Solicitor of the Court of Augmentations, and Attorney to the Court of Wards, under that Prince; from whom he afterwards obtained a grant of certain manors belonging to the monastery of St. Edmundsbury, which are still possessed by his family. He had no further promotion till the accession of Elizabeth, when his family connection with Cecil contributed perhaps as much as his own fame to procure her favour to him. She appointed him to preside at the disputation held in her first year between the principal men of the two religions, and gave him the custody of the great seal; uniting, for the first time, the power and dignity of the office of Chancellor to the title of Lord Keeper. This extensive authority, however, was soon abridged; for in 1564, being suspected of having favoured some popular arguments for the succession of the house of Grey, he fell into disgrace, and was forbid to appear at Court, or to interfere in any public affairs except those of the Chancery, where he continued to preside, with an unblemished reputation, till his death.

Sir Nicholas Bacon died at his house near Charing Cross, called York Place, Feb. 20, 1579, and was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral; having been twice married: first to Jane, daughter of William Fernely, of West Cretting in Suffolk, who brought him three sons (of whom Nicholas, the eldest, was the first Baronet created upon the invention of that title) and three daughters; se-

No. III.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. E. fol. 29.)

SIR ROBERT DUDLEY
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

My good Lord,

WHERE my servants, bringers hereof unto you, are such as are players of interludes ; and, for the same, have the license of divers of my Lords here, under their seals and hands, to play in divers shires within the realm under their authorities, as may amply appear unto your Lordship by the same license ; I have thought, among the rest, by my letters to beseech your good Lordship's conformity to them ; likewise that they may have your hand and seal to their license for the like liberty in

condly, to Anne, daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, of Gidea Hall in Essex, by whom he had two sons ; Anthony ; and Francis, afterwards the famous Lord Verulam.

† Sir Richard Sackville, Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations, and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer ; father to the first Earl of Dorset. He died April 21, 1566.

‡ Sir Edward Rogers, of Cannington in the county of Somerset, Knight, son and heir of George Rogers, of Luppitt in Devonshire, a younger son of the family of Rogers, of Bradford in Wiltshire. This gentleman, who fled into France to avoid the persecution in the late reign, probably owed his promotion in this merely to his steady adherence to the Protestant persuasion, for he seems to have been otherwise a man of no consequence. He was sworn of Elizabeth's Privy Council at her accession, and was appointed Comptroller of the Household on the death of Sir Thomas Parry, in December, 1560. He married Mary, daughter and co-heir of Thomas Lisle, of the ancient Lisea of Hampshire, and had issue Sir George, who married Jane, daughter and heir of Edmund Winter, of Clyffe, in that county, and died in 1582. Stowe records that Henry Rogers, Esq., one of Sir Edward's descendants, gave £ 5000 towards the rebuilding of Aldermarsh Church, in London, after the fire.

Yorkshire ; being honest men, and such as shall play none other matters, I trust, but tolerable and convenient ; whereof some of them have been beard here already before divers of my Lords. For whom I shall have good cause to thank your Lord, and to remain your Lordship's to the best that shall lie in my little power. And thus I take my leave of your good Lordship.

From Westminster, the of June, 1559.

Your good Lordship's assured,

R. DUDLEY.*

* Sir Robert Dudley, fifth son of John, late Duke of Northumberland. As some passage of this extraordinary person's public conduct appears on almost every page of the history of this reign, and because it will be necessary to make several detached observations on his many letters in this collection, I shall say little of him here, except with regard to some circumstances of his private life which are not generally known. He had been included in the attainer of his family, but was restored in blood by Queen Mary, who appointed him, when a very young man, Master of the Ordnance at the siege of St. Quintin. Elizabeth overwhelmed him with dignities ; giving him the Garter, while a Commoner ; creating him Baron of Denbigh, and Earl of Leicester ; and investing him with the order of St. Michael, which the King of France, by way of compliment, had requested her to confer on two of her subjects. He was likewise Master of the Horse, Steward of the Household, Chancellor of Oxford, Ranger of the Forests south of Trent, and Captain-general of the English forces in the Netherlands ; and, as though the great ancient offices of his country were not sufficient for the gratification of his ambitious temper, a patent was preparing at the time of his death for one before unheard of —the Queen's Lieutenant in the government of England and Ireland. He was distinguished by the elegance of his manners, and the profuseness of his expenses, and affected a great degree of piety, and a strict purity of conduct. To these plausible appearances, though unpossessed of either wisdom or virtue, he owed the maintenance of his power to the last, against a strong party at Court, and even against the Queen herself, who would gladly have pulled him down when those motives which doubtless produced her first favours to him had lost their force. The most material circumstances of his political history never appeared to public

No. IV.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. E. fol. 53.)

LORDS OF THE COUNCIL TO LORD TALBOT.*

AFTER our most hearty commendations to your good Lordship. Where the Queen's Majesty pre-

view, for he was the darkest character of his time, and delighted in deriving the success of his schemes from the operation of remote causes, and the agency of obscure instruments. It is highly probable that the Queen of Scots, and the Duke of Norfolk, were sacrificed to this crooked sort of policy; a conjecture which tends to wipe out somewhat, though, alas! but little, of the bloody stain which those enormities have left on Elizabeth's memory.

He married, first, Anne, daughter and heir to Sir John Rob-sart (for a particular account of whose murder, and the suspicions that fell on her husband, see Ashmole's History of Berks): secondly, Douglas, daughter of William Lord Howard of Effingham, and widow of John Lord Sheffield, by whom he had a son, Sir Robert, who will be frequently mentioned in the papers of the next reign. But soon after, having conceived a violent passion for Lettice, daughter of Sir Francis Knollys, and widow of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, whose late death had been attended by strong indications of foul play, he wedded her, and disowned his former marriage, and its unfortunate offspring. Douglas submitted patiently, and lived for some time in the obscurity which suited her disgraced character, till Leicester having attempted to take her off by poison, she married Sir Edward Stafford of Grafton, in hopes of shielding herself against the Earl's future malignity by affording him in her own conduct a presumptive evidence in favour of his allegations. All the curious circumstances relating to this double bigamy may be found in Dugdale's Warwickshire. Touch-ed, however, at last with remorse, he left his great estates to his brother, Ambrose Earl of Warwick, only for life, and gave the inheritance to Sir Robert, who wandered abroad till his father's death, when he returned, and challenged his right to his family dignities; which being denied, he determined to quit for ever a country in which he had experienced so much injustice. To complete this long scene of iniquity, James I. seized the estates by virtue of Mary's statute of fugitives; but, in order to avoid the odium which so tyrannical an act justly merited, obliged Sir Ro-

* This nobleman, George Lord Talbot, succeeded to the Earl-dom on the death of his father, Earl Francis, on the 21st of Sep-tember following.

sently, by her most honorable letters, commits unto you a special charge of great importance, tending to the necessary service of the realm for defence of the same against certain attempts of the French, lately disclosed though not published ; and with her Highness's said letters, there are addressed a certain number of particular letters to divers persons within that county of Derby, of good livelihood, to will them with all speed to make ready certain horsemen, and to send them to Newcastle, so as the same may be there by the day appointed in your letters from her Majesty ; we have thought meet, besides the matter contained in her Majesty's letters, to signify part of our minds for the furtherance of the same service.

First, you shall do well to send for the Sheriff, and some other of the principal in every quarter of the shire, and confer with them how this charge and service may be best performed ; and use their helps therein. And if any of the same shall be appointed by her Majesty to send out any, you shall procure them to make haste with their charge, for the better example of others.

If you shall understand that some are appointed to find horses for demi-lances, and shall not have meet horses for that purpose for lack of stature ; rather than to hinder the service you shall give commandment that if they can set forth a

bert to consent to a nominal sale of them to Henry Prince of Wales, at one third of their value, and even that was never paid. Thus this great property was unjustly drawn back to the same source from which, with so little merit, it had been originally derived.

good, strong, and well-set gelding (though he be not very high) and a man on his back meet to wear a corslet, and shoot a dagge, it shall suffice. And if the party appointed have not, nor cannot suddenly provide, a corslet, ye shall, nevertheless, give warning that he stay not thereupon ; but send him to Newcastle, where he shall have a good corslet for 30s. the piece, and a case of daggs upon reasonable terms.

If any one shall be appointed to this charge of whom you may judge (for his insufficiency) that he was not here known to her Majesty, or to us of the Council, to be insufficient, you may do well to spare such person, and to provide some other, if you can find any not assigned, but forgotten ; for which purpose you have the Queen's Majesty's letters to direct, according to her Majesty's express authority given you in that behalf ; and of that your charge you shall advertise the Duke of Norfolk her Majesty's Lieutenant in the north. You shall also assign some one of most discretion to be a guide to the rest, for the expedition of their journey towards Newcastle.

If you find any assigned being unwilling to further this service, you shall forthwith advertise us, that remedy may be provided.

If any assigned are at this present gone out of the country, leaving his household there, you shall cause such as have charge of his house to accomplish the Queen's Majesty's commandment ; and (rather than fail) to see the commandment executed, though it may chance the party shall not be able

to come to Newcastle at the day appointed by four or five days.

Finally, you shall understand that the Queen's Majesty will be pleased though of the whole number there be a third party furnished as demy-lances, so as the rest are well furnished with strong geldings, meet to carry a man with a corslet. And herein you may shew yourself to do at this present very acceptable service to the whole realm, as the end we trust shall better declare. And thus we bid your Lordship right heartily farewell.

From Westmainster, the 23rd of Dec. 1559.

Your Lordship's assured loving friends,

N. BACON. C.S. F. BEDFORD. PEMBROKE.

E. CLYNTON. W. HOWARD. RD. SACKVILLE.

G. ROGERS. W. CECIL. N. WOTTON.

WILLM. PETRES. F. KNOLLYS.*

To our very good Lord the Lord Talbot.

* Sir Francis Knollys, only son of Robert Knollys, Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Henry VIII. He was brought to Court very young towards the end of that reign, and held an inferior office in the household till the accession of Mary, when his strict adherence to Protestantism obliged him to leave England, and, meeting with Knox, and others of his persuasion abroad, he became a regular Puritan, being perhaps the first Englishman of note who espoused that wayward sect. Elizabeth, to whom his hatred of Popery sufficiently recommended him, gave him the order of the Garter, and in 1566 appointed him Vice-chamberlain, Captain of her Guard and Lieutenant of the county of Oxford. He succeeded Sir John Mason as Treasurer of the Chamber in the same year, and in 1568 was sent to Carlisle, to receive the Queen of Scots: He had the custody of that lady, jointly with the Lord Scroop, during her abode at Bolton Castle, and was one of the Commissioners for her trial. His last public office was that of Treasurer of the Household, in which he died in 1596; leaving the character of a sagacious courtier, who never mixed in the high intrigues of the times, and the

No. V.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. E. fol. 95.)

— TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

My duty humbly remembered to your good Lordship. The present occurrences here are rather uncertain than sure, especially towards the north ;*

honourable testimony of his mistress, who used to say that she promoted Sir Francis Knollys because he was an honest man. He married Katherine, sister of Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, and cousin german to Elizabeth; by whom he had six sons: Henry: William, created Viscount Wallingford, and Earl of Banbury; Sir Robert, K. B.; Richard, Francis, and Thomas, Knights: And four daughters; Lettice, wife, first, of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, secondly, of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester; Anne, married to Thomas Lord Delawar; Cecilia, to Sir Thomas Leighton, of Feckenham in Wilts; and Katherine to Lord Ophaley, son and heir of the Earl of Kildare.

As the honours conferred on William, the second son, are supposed by many to have been forfeited by an act of attainder, and other opinions equally ill founded are held on that subject, it may not be impertinent to state here the true reason for the suspension of them. He married, first Dorothy, daughter of Edmund, Lord Bray, and relict of Lord Chandos, by whom he had an only daughter, who died an infant; and secondly, in his old age, Elizabeth Howard, eldest daughter of Thomas Earl of Suffolk, who survived him, and declared in her attestation to his funeral certificate, and otherwise, that she had no children by him. She then married Nicholas Lord Vaux of Harweden, and soon after produced two sons, whom she affirmed to be the legal issue of the Earl of Banbury. Charles, the eldest, was slain in France: Nicholas, his brother, who enjoyed not only the Knollys estates, but also those of his reputed father-in-law, Lord Vaux, assumed the titles of Earl of Banbury, &c. and claimed his seat soon after the Restoration. This claim was repeatedly urged in the course of the following forty years, but was never decided on by the Peers, who lately decided against it, after a long and solemn hearing.

* Immediately after the treaty of Cambray (April 2, 1559,) Henry II. and the Guises compelled the Dauphin and the young Queen of Scots to take up the style and arms of King and Queen of England; an ill-fated measure, which completed the ruin of the French interest in Scotland, and opened that scene of misery which terminated in the murder of Mary. Henry's

for I assure your Lordship my Lords here are in marvelous perplexity that there is no more done to-

death, previous to the date of this letter, produced no alteration in their plans : The usurpation was continued, with circumstances the most aggravating and affronting to Elizabeth ; and the French army in Scotland, which had been from time to time augmented by small reinforcements, became now very formidable. It is probable that the invasion of England in prosecution of these imaginary claims, was to have taken place early in the spring, but the Queen Regent was obliged to turn her arms against the Congregation, the inferior members of which, headed by Knox, had lately ravaged the most beautiful monuments of the ancient religion with a brutality unparalleled in the rudest ages. These tumults furnished an excuse for a further addition of foreign troops ; and the arrival of 1000 French in September, who were immediately employed in fortifying Leith, induced Elizabeth to recur to arms. The Duke of Norfolk was appointed Lieutenant in the North, an English fleet took possession of Edinburgh Firth ; and, in February, articles were signed at Berwick, with the Duke of Chatelherault, who now appeared at the head of the Congregation : That memorable party had lately placed itself under the protection of the Queen of England, who had hitherto counteracted the operations of the French by espousing its interest. In the mean time a powerful army besieged Leith, which, after an obstinate resistance, was given up to the English by a treaty, many very valuable papers relating to which are inserted in this collection. The Queen Regent expired during the siege ; and Francis II. dying soon after, the youthful and ill-fated Mary left the soft refinements of a court which adored her, to become the nominal Sovereign of a people then distinguished only by the fierceness of their warlike spirit, and the growing virulence of religious party. It is said that Elizabeth, who had refused her even the common compliment of a safe conduct, had taken measures to intercept her on her passage. This assertion, though weakly supported, is not without probability. That aspiring Princess perhaps hoped by this one bold step to unite the Crown of Scotland with her own : And, if we consider the futile character of Chatelherault, who was next heir to the throne ; the insanity of Arran his eldest son ; the factious spirit which then divided the Court of France ; the unpopularity of the French in Scotland ; and the popularity of Elizabeth with the powerful and discontented body of reformers in that country ; some reasonable grounds may be perceived for a conjecture which the humble compass of a note will not afford room for the further pursuit of.

wards Leith of this long time than they yet hear of ; and for that purpose is Sir Peter Carew despatched with all speed northward, to understand the particular causes of this delay. It is thought marvellous strange that Calais and Guise could no longer hold out, and Leith preserve itself so long. There is appointed a force to be sent to Berwick with speed ; the number is 3300 that shall be sent thither. There comes hither from the French King a special messenger to-morrow, one of his Privy Chamber ; what news he brings is uncertain. The Lord Montague * is removed from Spain, and Sir Thomas Chamberlain left as Ledger there. The answer of that message is reserved King of Spain's Ambassadors here, who have daily conference with the French Ambassadors.

The Queen's Majesty, God be thanked, is in good state of health, and removed the 13th of this month to Greenwich, where it is thought her

The history of Mary, with respect to this kingdom, is well known. Her crimes, her follies, and her misfortunes, have been so long the playthings of historical speculators that very little remains untold : most of that little may be found in the following sheets, and will require many separate remarks. I shall therefore only observe here, that Leicester's offer of marriage ; Darnley's accession to the Scottish Throne, and his violent death ; the murder of Rizzio ; the horrid guilt of Bothwell, and Mary's unhappy passion for him ; the tumults on that account ; her subsequent flight into England ; and her most unjust imprisonment there ; compose, with the circumstances before mentioned, the grand outlines of this third period of Scottish history ; which I have placed here merely because the letter before us is the first in this reign that alludes to our affairs with that country.

* Anthony Browne, first Viscount Montague. He was a zealous Roman Catholic, and was therefore appointed Ambassador to Madrid, as a person likely to gain credit there.

Highness will remain a good time. Thus, wishing your Lordship perfect health and long continuance, I humbly take my leave.

From Greenwich, the 16th of May, 1560.
Your good Lordship's, bounden at commandment.

No. VI.

(Cecil Papers, 1560.*)

LORDS OF THE COUNCIL

TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL AND DR. WOTTON.

AFTER our right hearty commendations. The Queen's Majesty having received Letters out of Spain, from our very good Lord, the Viscount Montague, and Sir Thomas Chamberlain, her Majesty's Ambassadors there; albeit, her Highness finds nothing in them of any great importance, nor can thereby understand any certain or particular matter that may discover the King of Spain's meaning, but only in general terms an uncertain answer, grounded, for the more part, upon the self matter and arguments that have been, heretofore, as you know, alleged by the Bishop of Aquila;† yet hath her Highness thought good that the copy of the said letters should be sent unto you, which you shall receive herewith, to the

* Probably written on the 11th or 12th of June, soon after which the King of Spain's mediatory proposals were delivered in explicit terms. (See *Haynes*, 325—328.) His interference was very little attended to in the treaty.

† Alvarez de Quadra, Bishop of Aquila, the Spanish Ambassador in Ordinary at the English Court. He died in London three years after.

intent you may thereby see what the humour and disposition of those parties tend unto.

Marry, two points, we think, to be of special consideration in the same letters; the one, that the Duke of Alva says plainly that all things that have been imparted here to the Bishop of Aquila have been by the said Bishop signified and written over only as talk passed here with the Queen's Majesty, without requiring on her Highness' behalf the King's advice therein. Whereby appears an indirect dealing on the Bishop's part; for, as you, Mr. Secretary, do very well know, the said King, before her Majesty's Ambassador's going over, was, by her Highness's express letters addressed unto him for that purpose, referred unto the report of the said Bishop for the understanding of the state of things, and the Queen's Majesty's meaning and proceedings here, whereof it appears no mention nor remembrance is had there now. The other special matter to be noticed is that the French King is content the King of Spain shall name umpires for the compounding of the differences between the Queen's Majesty and him; and neither do we know what can have moved this offer, nor upon what ground the King of Spain has accepted the same, unless it is that he takes hold of the motion made by the Queen's Majesty to be content, for the satisfaction and recompense done unto her by the French King in using her Majesty's style and bearing of her arms, to stand to the arbitrement of some such indifferent persons as should be named by the said King of

Spain. For the first point, it is meant the Bishop shall be talked withal here, and his manner of dealing herein plainly told him, in discharge of the Queen's Majesty's sincerity and upright meaning. And, for the second, it is thought good to be passed over in silence, without giving any answer thereunto, unless the same shall be specially moved unto the Queen's Majesty on the said King of Spain's behalf by his Ambassador ; in which case such reasonable answer shall be devised for his satisfaction as may stand with the Queen's Majesty's honour.

Herewith we send also unto you an article of a letter from Mr. Gresham, touching such advertisements as have been brought unto him, together with an abstract of certain intelligences sent from Shirley, whereby you may perceive the preparation that is towards in those parts ; although we do not think all to be gospel that is reported from France. For the better meeting wherewith, in all events, the Lord Admiral is written unto, and the duplicate of the same advertisements sent unto him ; for which purpose also you may use your knowledge thereof according to your good wisdoms.

No. VII.

(Cecil Papers. 1560.)

LORDS OF THE COUNCIL
TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL AND DR. WOTTON.

AFTER our right hearty commendations. We have received your letters of the 8th of this month,* and do thereby perceive what you have done with the French Commissioners upon your first meeting with them ; wherein as you have very wisely and circumspectly begun, so mistrust we not but you will continue the like, and go forward in the same as occasion shall be offered. And where the Queen's Majesty received yesternight certain letters and intelligences out of France from Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, by Mr. Johns, her Highness' servant, dispatched hither expressly for that purpose, her Majesty has willed us to send the same unto you, which you shall receive herewith ; that is to say, an instruction delivered by the said Johns touching the state of things in France, which he has opened unto her Highness in such sort as you may perceive by the same ; certain intercepted letters sent by you, Mr. Secretary, to be decyphered by Mr. Somers ; a memorial sent to the Dowager of Scotland ; and a letter from Mr. Throgmorton unto you, which has been decyphered here. To the intent you may by the same gather out such matter as you shall think may best serve for the bringing to good pass of that

* See it in Haynes, page 324. This letter, in answer to it, was written about the 14th of June.

you have presently in hand. And albeit we mistrust not but you can by your own wisdom well enough note such points in the same letters and intelligences as are fittest to be provided for and considered, yet have we thought meet especially to put you in remembrance of two principal matters, whereof we think great consideration is to be had.

We perceive, first, by the said intelligences, that the Dowager has not only victualled the castle of Edinburgh, but has also begun to new fortify the same; meaning, as by the contents of those letters and advertisements may be gathered, that if Leith shall be brought to any extremity, some sally in the night, or other practise, shall be attempted; to the intent thereby the chiefest persons within the town may escape to Edinburgh castle, which place it seems they make account to keep; and, therefore, special regard would be had to the preventing and meeting with that matter, if any such thing shall happen to be intended. It appears also that of late there have two principal persons escaped by sea out of Leith, and coming into France, whereat we cannot but much marvel; and, for the better looking to the like hereafter, it shall be well done you give knowledge thereof unto our very good Lord the Duke of Norfolk, to the intent he may give warning unto Mr. Winter * to cause better heed to be given henceforth to his charge.

* William Winter, who commanded the fleet; afterwards knighted, and appointed Vice-Admiral.

No. VIII.

(Cecil Papers.)

Indorsed, "Copy of the Letter sent with the Articles of Suspension of Arms to Leith, by the BISHOP OF VALENCE and MONSIEUR DE RANDAN."

Messieurs,

LE Roi, désirant de mettre fin aux troubles qui sont par de ça, si fait se peut avec un bon accord, et aux différences qui sont survenus entre sa Majesté et celle de la Reine d'Angleterre depuis le dernier traité de paix, nous avons dépêchés avec un pouvoir où vous êtes nommé, pour traiter et accorder ce que vous et nous jugerions raisonnable, selon les mémoires qui nous sont été baillées sous l'autorité de la Reine Régente, et par son conseil et avis. Étant arrivés à Berwick, avons entendu la mort de la dite Dame, qui a été cause qu' avons d'autant plus pressé Messieurs le Secrétaire Cecil et Doyen de Canterbury, députés pour la Reine d'Angleterre, de permettre que vous sortissiez hors du lieu où vous êtes, et nous assebler pour communiquer et proceder à la négociation d'un accord ; mais il ne nous a été possible de gaigner ce point avec eux, prenant pour excuse, que ce seroit pour contrevenir aux lois de la guerre, par lesquelles ils disent n'est permis aux assiégés d'avoir aucune communication avec ceux qui ont moyen de les conforter, ou donner avertissement de quelque secours : joint aussi que dans le dit pouvoir, il est contenu que les trois des cinq, ou les deux, pourront négocier en defaut des autres ; et dé-là ils veulent insérer,

que le Roi même avoit bien prévu que ceux qui étoient assiégés n'auroient permission de sortir pour nous voir, ni parler avec vous.

Sur cela, nous avons proposé de faire sortir vous Monsieur d'Amiens, permettant que, si l'accord ne pouvoit succéder, et qu'ils ne voulussent permettre votre retour au Petit Lict, vous attendriez l'issue de ce siège en tel lieu qui seroit ordonné, avec le hazard de courant une même fortune que feront ceux qui sont assiégés ; mais, voyant que ne les avions peu divertir de leur opinion, avons accordé de négocier avec eux, à la charge que de ce qui se traitera, l'on nous donnera permission de vous en pouvoir avertir par lettres ouvertes ; cependant notre assemblé, qu'il n'auroit point de mal de faire une suspension d'armes jusqu' à Samedi au soir, qui est le temps préfix pour avoir mis fin à notre négociation, d'une façon ou d'autre ; laquelle suspension nous vous envoyons, vous prians de la trouver bonne : et si ainsi est, de la vouloir observer, et la faire publier au lieu où vous êtes, comme sera fait au camp, et en cette ville, après avoir eu votre réponse. Et, avenant qu'il la faille publier, pourroit être sur les six heures, et vous fera un signe du chateau par un coup de canon, auquel vous réponderez s'il vous plait. Et ainsi faisons fin, après vous avoir averti que le Roi et la Reine se portent bien.

De la ville de Lislebourg, le 17me jour de Juin,
1560.

No. IX.

(Cecil Papers.)

Indorsed, "Copy of the Articles * agreed upon by the Commissioners of both Parties."

Articles conclués et accordés entre les Députés du Roi et Reine de France et d'Ecosse, &c., et ceux de la Reine d'Angleterre en la Présence du Duc de Norfolk, Lieutenant-Général pour la Reine d'Angleterre.

EN premier lieu, les Députés ont accordés que le traité de la réconciliation de la paix se fera en la ville de Lislebourg.†

Item, à été pareillement accordé, que Lund prochain on commencera à y bosoigner, et continueront la négociation jusqu' au Samedi ensuivant, par tout le jour, et s'il y a lieu d'espérer une bonne fin, le temps de négocier sera prolongé selon qu'il sera avisé entre les Députés.

Item, à été accordé, que du jour de Lundi, le 17me de ce mois, jusqu' à Samedi prochain à huit heures du soir, il y aura suspension d'armes, tant par mer que par terre, aux conditions que s'ensuivent.

Premièrement, que les Anglois et Ecossois ne feront durant la dite suspension d'armes, aucun acte d'hostilité contre la ville du Petit Lict, Lisle

* These are the Articles referred to by Cecil, in his letter to Sir William Petre, of June 15, 1560—See *Haynes*, 326. They were signed on the 18th.

† The French had lately given this name to the town of Edinburgh, which, as Mr. Guthrie informs us, was at that time surrounded with water, except towards the East.

aux Chevaux,* ni Dunbar ; et ne feront aucunes miues, tranchées ; ni saperont, ni assailliront, aucun des dites places.

Item, que ceux, qui sont dans le Petit Lict, ne sortiront plus avant que de leur contrescarpe et tranchées ordinaires ; ceux de Dunbar ne sortiront plus d'un mil par terre à l'environ ; ceux de l'Isle aux Chevaux se contiendront dans la dite isle ; ni feront, en aucun des dits trois places, tranchées, ni contremines, ni autre fortification. Et personne, quel qui soit, n'entreprendra de mettre vivres ou munition aux dites places, ni leur donnera secours ou avertissement, sur peine que si l'on y contre-vient, la dite suspension cessera.

Item, ne pourront ceux du camp des Anglois et des Ecossois approcher plus près de la dite ville du Lict, sinon qu'au lieu où ils ont accoutumé de faire la garde et guet ordinaire, et là, où il y a des tranchées, ne passeront plus avant que des dits tranchées. Plus, s'il avient, que les dits Ambassadeurs et Députés rompent leur négociation pendant le dit temps, pour ne se pouvoir accorder, ors cessera aussi la dite suspension d'armes.

Item, à été accordé, que les Députés François, avec leur train mentionné en leur passeports, entreront en Ecosse ; demeureront pendant le temps de la négociation, et reviendront sûrement ; et ne porterent les dits Députés que mil écus pour eux deux, et les gentilshommes de leur suite, n'en porteront que cinq cens.

* The town of Leith, and the little island of Inch Keith, in the Firth, had received these appellations likewise from the French.

Item, ont promis les dits Députés François, de ne négocier avec François ou Ecossois, pendant qu'ils seront au dit lieu de Lislebourg, ou en chemin, ni eux ni les gentilshommes de leur train, que ce ne soit du consentement des dits Députés d'Angleterre; et quant aux autres serviteurs, ils procureront, s'il négocient aucunement en chose qui concerne le fait de la guerre, de les réputer en main des dits Députés d'Angleterre pour en être ordonné selon le droit.

Item, que ceux qui sont du train du Seigneur de Randan, et de l'Evêque de Valence, ne sortiront du logis qui leur sera ordonné à Lislebourg, sans la consentement de ceux qui seront députés pour les accompagner, et en cela ne seront compris les officiers qui ont ordinairement en charge de la dépense, et des choses nécessaires pour la maison, desquels feront bailler les nom et les surnoms.

Item, à été accordé, que toutes les fois que les Députés d'un part et d'autre s'assembleront, sera permis aux Députés de France de communiquer avec Monseigneur l'Arcevêque de St. André, le Secrétaire Ecossois, et le Clerc de la Justice; et si cas étoit, que les dites personages, ou l'un d'eux, se fussent là déclarés pour la congregation, sera loisible aux dits Députés en choisir trois autres en leur lieu, pourvu qu'ils ne soient de ceux qui sont en fortresses tenues par les François: lesquels trois Ecossois, toutes les fois qu'ils auront parlement avec les dits Députés François, seront tenus de retourner au lieu d'où ils étoient venus.

Item, sera loisible aux dits Deputés François de demander, retenir, et garder, le chiffre du Roi et de la Reine, qui ont été laissés par la Reine Régente, entre les mains de son Secrétaire François ; et là, où le dit chiffre seroit perdu, le dit Secrétaire viendra pour leur montrer la manière de déchiffrir ; et, est aussi permis que le Capitaine Chaperon viendra parler à eux, et leur livrer telles commissions et écrits qu'il a porté de France en Ecosse.

Item, sera permis aux dits Deputés François d'envoyer aux demoiselles Françoises qui étoient autour de la personne de la dite Reine Régente, pour les consoller ; ou voire qu'elles viendront aux dits Deputés.

Item, les dits Deputés d'Angleterre s'obligent corps et biens, quant à leur part, d'observer, et faire observer tout ce que dessus, en tant qu'à eux appartiendra.

Pareillement, les dits Deputés François s'obligent, corps et biens, d'observer, et de faire observer tant par eux-mêmes que par ceux de leur compagnie, chacune des choses dessus mentionnées.

Plus, à été accordé que Mousieur le Duc de Norfolk assure les dits Sieurs de Valence et de Randan, et toute leur compagnie, pour l'aller et revenir, et pour le temps qu'ils demeureront à Lislebourg ; pourvu que les dits Seigneurs, et leur gentilshommes, observent entièrement tout les articles dessus spécifiés.

No. X.

(Cecil Papers.)

Sur la demande fait par Messieurs les Deputés d'Angleterre de la compensation qu'ils prétendent que la Reine notre Souverain doit faire pour avoir porté le titre et armoiries du dit royaume contre la volonté de la Reine leur Maîtresse.

APRES avoir débatu d'un part et d'autre, et nous répondu, que n'avons aucune pouvoir de parler d'aucune compensation, pourquoi ne pouvons pour cette heure offrir autre chose sinon que, puisque l'offense vient du dit titre et des armoiries, le Roi et la Reine, nos Souverains, se déporteront dorénavant d'user et porter le dit titre et armories, défendront à leurs subjects l'usage du dit titre, en quelque sorte que ce soit, et en tous endroits de leurs pays et seigneuries : Pareillement, défendront en tant qu'en eux sera, de mettre en aucune manière les armoiries d'Angleterre avec celles de la Reine notre Souverain ; et là, où se trouveroient des lettres faites par le passé, où le dit titre seroit mentionné, ou qu'elles seroient scellées d'aucune scel contenant les dits armoiries, seront reformées sans y ajouter le titre ni les armes d'Angleterre ni d'Irlande ; et que toutes lettres contenant le dit titre, ou scellées avec les dits armoiries, qui ne seront renouvellées ou reformées dedans six mois après la publication de ce traité, seront nulles et de nulle valeur.

Et quant aux articles qui sur ce nous ont été baillés par les dits Deputés, et laquels nous n'avons peu acceptés, nous les envoyeroons au Roi avec

toute diligence, qui nous en sera réponse, et pourrons en avenir ci après en tel lieu quel sera avisé, et pareillement décider et terminer les difficultés du différence de la dite compensation; et là, où il aviendroit, que Dieu ne veuille, que nous ne puissions être d'accord, sera le différent de la dite compensation remis au Roi Catholique, pour en demeurer à son jugement, pourvu qu'il en décide dans un an, si le terme n'étoit prolongé du consentement des parties. Et si la Majesté du dit Roi Catholique dans le temps préfix ne pouvoit donner sa sentence, alors les droits et l'action de demander la dite compensation demeurera en son entier à la dite Dame Reine d'Angleterre.

Cependant, nous offrons de composer les affaires d'Ecosse avec les Sieurs Ecossois par tous moyens dûes et raisonnables, et autres différences avec les Anglois, si aucune en y a; et conviendrons avec les dits Sieurs les Députés, que l'armée d'Angleterre, tant par mer que par terre, et les soldats François et Ecossois, qui sont dans le Petit Lict, s'en iront en un même temps, en la façon et manière qu'il sera accordé entre les dit Députés et nous; en nous accommodant de navires, tant ici qu'à Newcastle, pour renvoyer les dits soldats François, comme autrefois il a été offert. Et le Petit Lict sera démolí. Et quant à Dunbar et l'Isle aux Chevaux sera diminué le nombre des soldats qui y sont, selon qu'il sera accordé entre nous et les dits Seigneurs Ecossois; et si quelque chose a été faite au lieu de Dunbar pour la rendre plus capable de gens qu'elle n'étoit, sera démolí;

pourvu que ce qui aura été fait pour la fortification
 demeure, car cela servira à y tenir moindre nombre
 de gens de guerre. Et cesseront tous appareils
 de guerre, tant par mer que par terre, d'une coté
 et d'autre ; savoir, du coté de la dite Reine d'An-
 gleterre, que de celui du Roi et Reine de France ;
 de façon, qu'aucune navire portant gendarmes, ou
 autre appareil de guerre, tant de France, d'Angle-
 terre, que d'ailleurs ne pourra passer en Ecosse
 en faveur de l'une ou de l'autre partie. Et moi,
 obligé Evêque de Valence, je m'oblige à l'obser-
 vance de ce dernier article, jusqu'à ce que la paix
 soit publiée, ou que nous soyons rompus.

Fait à Lislebourg, ce 19me de Juin, 1560.

MONLUC, E. DE VALENCE.* RANDAN.†

* John de Monluc, Bishop of Valence. He had been Ambassador from Henry II. of France to the Queen Dowager of Scotland in 1553, and was appointed to manage the present negociation as a person who thoroughly understood the national character and policy of the latter country. Sir James Melvil, who some years before had accompanied this Prelate into Ireland, whither he was sent to exasperate the ancient chiefs against the English government, gives us a remarkable instance of his furious temper, and turn for gross debauchery; which Burnet, in his hatred to the Romish clergy, hath very impertinently transcribed into his History of the Reformation.

† Charles de la Rochefoucault, Sieur de Randan. Historians mention him as a person inferior to none of that age in address and political knowledge. Neither this gentleman nor his colleague, however, appear to have engaged in the Scottish intrigues of that time beyond the precise limits of their commission :—a proof, perhaps, of their wisdom.

No. XI.

(Cecil Papers.)

Answer to the demand that the Commissioners of England made for a recompense which they pretend the Queen our Sovereign ought to make for that she has borne the title and armories of England against the will of the Queen their Mistress.

AFTER debating to and fro we have answered that we have no power to talk of any recompense, wherefore we may not for this time offer any other thing than that, since the offence came of the said title and armories, the King and Queen our Sovereigns shall henceforth forbear to use and bear the said title and armories, and also shall forbid their subjects the using of the said title, in what sort soever it be, and in all parts of their countries and siegneuries. Likewise they shall forbid, as much as in them shall lie, the joining or mingling, any manner of ways, of the arms of England with those of the Queen our Sovereign; and where letters shall be found, made in times past, wherein the said title is mentioned, or that the same letters have been sealed with any seal containing the said armories, they shall be corrected, without putting to them the title or arms of England or Ireland; and that all letters containing the said title, or being sealed with the said armories, not being renewed or reformed within six months after the publishing of this treaty, shall be void and of no effect.

And as touching the articles that hereupon have been given us by the said Commissioners, and which we could not accept, we will send them to the King, who shall make us an answer, and here-

after commune thereupon in such place as shall be thought good; and likewise decide and end the difficulties of the strife and difference touching the said recompence; and if it happened, which God forbid, that we could not agree, then the matter of the said recompence shall be remitted and put into the hands of the Catholic King, to do therein according to his judgment, provided that he do decide it within one year, if, through the consent of both parties, the time be not prolonged. And in case his Majesty could not within the time appointed give his sentence, that then the right and action for the demanding of the said recompence shall remain unto the said Queen of England whole and in full strength.

In the mean time, we offer to compose the affairs of Scotland with the Scottish Lords with all due and reasonable means, and likewise other differences with the Englishmen, if any such are; also we will covenant with the said commissioners that the English army, as well by sea as land, and the French and Scottish soldiers which are within Leith, shall depart at one time, after such fashion and manner as shall be agreed between the said Commissioners and us; lending unto us ships, both here and at Newcastle, for to carry home the said French soldiers, as heretofore has been offered. And the fortifications at Leith shall be broken and defaced. And as for Dunbar and Inch Keith, the number of soldiers that are there shall be diminished so much as shall be agreed between us and the said Lords of Scotland; and

if any thing has been made at the said Dunbar to make the same able to receive more people than it was before, it shall be cast down again; provided that that which has been done there for the fortifying thereof may remain, for that may serve to keep a less number of men of war there. Also that all apparels and preparation of war, as well by land as sea, shall cease on both sides; that is to say, on the Queen of England's side, and the French King and Queen's; so that no ship, carrying men of war, or other apparel for the war, either from France, England, or from any other place, shall pass into Scotland in the favour of the one part or the other. And I, the above bounden Bishop of Valence, do bind myself for the observation of this last article, until the peace be published, or that we do break off.

Done at Edinburgh, this 19th of June, 1560.

No. XI.

(Cecil Papers.*)

SIR WILLIAM CECIL AND DOCTOR WOTTON
TO THE QUEEN.

It may please your Majesty,
SINCE our last letters we have spent much time,
and yet have had partly no leisure, partly no cer-
tainty of matter to advertise your Majesty, since
that time until this present, by any our other let-

* See in Haynes, 327, their letter of the same date to the Council, referring to this for information.

ters. The 11th of this month* the Queen Dowager died here at Edinburgh, as we understand of a dropsy ; by whose death the nobility of Scotland are entered into greater boldness, for maintenance of their quarrel than before they durst shew. We imparted to the French King's Ambassadors her death upon the 12th of this present, (journeying in the way with us toward Berwick) wherewith they were much perplexed, and said that, although the Scots might prove thereby harder to be reconciled, yet the treaty (with us and them both) on their part should be harder by her death, because the weight of most points that might fall in question were, as they doubted, much referred to her advice and contention ; and, also, the burden of conclusion should now be so great for them to bear, being the lesser number of the Commissioners,† but therein we knew what we had to

* Anderson, in his royal genealogies, a work which exhibits fewer errors than might be expected in such a multifarious collection, tells us that this lady died on the 29th of May. Dr. Robertson, coming nearer to the mark, says the 10th of June.

† The Bishop of Amiens, and the Sieurs la Brosse and d'Oisel, who, though included in the French King's commission, seem to have been considered as parties peculiarly interested for the Queen Dowager. The first article in Elizabeth's instructions to her Commissioners (*in Dr. Forbes' Papers*) directs that 'these gentlemen shall not be permitted to have access to the Bishop of Valence and M. de Randan, lest, by discovering the real state of the besieged, they might be the means of protracting the negotiation. Thus three of the five commissioners were actually kept in confinement, and debarred from all communication with their brethren, during the progress of what was called a free treaty. So gross a piece of injustice passing unresented affords a remarkable proof of Elizabeth's superiority over France, as well as Scotland, at that time.

do. We thought fit to draw them to Berwick ; and, for divers respects, saw it necessary that we should all repair to Edinburgh, with such conditions on their part to be observed as we herewith do send unto your Majesty, accorded by them in writing ; wherein we beseech your Majesty to accept our good meaning and labour, for truly the obtaining thereof cost us much travail. We departed from Berwick on Saturday in the morning, so late, by quarrelling and spending of time with the French about those articles, that some of us were constrained to lie that night in our clothes.

On Sunday we came to Edinburgh, and in the afternoon at the church met with the Duke, and the whole of the nobility joined with him, to whom we delivered your Majesty's letters of credence, and declared the cause of our coming, in sort as we had in charge from your Majesty, and saw convenient for the time. We found them all universally as well bent towards your Majesty as if they had been your natural subjects ; and yet did we so use our speech that they might perceive your Majesty meant nothing more than to conserve all those three realms in their distinct rights and liberties, and to have a perpetual quietness betwixt these two realms, which had always contended by the occasion of the third.

On Monday in the morning we met at the council chamber of this town with the French Ambassadors, and there made perfect, with much ado, the articles of abstinence which are inserted

to the articles concluded at Berwick ; and therein was all the day spent, until the French within the town, and your Majesty's General and Council in your camp, could be accorded thereupon ; and yet about seven o'clock the abstinence was proclaimed on both parties upon the shot of two cannons in the castle of Edinburgh. The French Ambassadors are importunate with us to speak with such as were in the Castle with the Queen ; and, although there is no great matter in it, yet we have accorded to no more but that they shall comfort the ladies. Yesterday, also, we had much ado for the deciphering of all their instructions and letters, which were written in the cypher that remained with the Queen, now in the custody of a French Secretary, whom we would not permit to speak with the said Ambassadors but before us ; and he, receiving the letters cyphered, being shut up in a chamber, decyphered them, and was returned to the castle, where he remains the only prisoner, all others being set at liberty.

This day, being Tuesday, we met early in the morning, and entered into the matters which touched your Majesty principally ; which were the injuries done by use of your style and arms, and the prosecution of the intent thereof by bringing forces into Scotland. Upon the first matter, we required that reformation might be made of all things therein past, and compensation for the injuries thereby sustained, for which we required the restitution of Calais, and the payment of 500,000 crowns, which we enforced to be due to your Ma-

jesty, as well for innovation by the style and arms as for violation of the treaty in not delivering to your Majesty the fourth hostage. This matter produced much argument and some choler. They answered peremptorily that they neither could nor would treat of any recompense, as a thing whereof they never heard, nor had instruction ; neither would, for their heads, enter into talk of the restitution of Calais, in this the King's minority ; and for the ceasing of the title, they would be content the same should cease ; and for the arms, that the Queen should bear the same in some corner, with her mother's, in sort as the same should not offend your Majesty ; or else that they should be so borne as King Philip should adjudge to be tolerable, without prejudice of your Majesty. Whereunto we answered that the King's minority might not defend them to do wrong, nor excuse your Majesty to recover your right ; which if you could not have by us, with fair talk, we doubted not but you had means to recover it otherwise. Here we told them that my Lord of Norfolk was ready to come in, and had made suit, and had obtained it of your Majesty, that he might never return without the possession of the town ; and that not by treaty but by force, for that he thought his honour should be otherwise too much touched ; and we, meaning wholly to get the town before him, by treaty, would not permit him as yet to enter, whilst we might see any hope with speed to end these matters ; and therefore we required them to accord speedily with us, assuring them that we

would never make any accord with them that the French Queen should bear the arms of England in any manner sort. They said both they and we must yield to necessity, for they could not answer us in things whereof they had no authority ; and therefore required us to suspend this matter, and to proceed to some other, until they might hear from the King. This was such an answer as for the which we thought we should have broken off, whereof we were sorry ; nevertheless, because they should see how we would strain our good wills, we offered that they should write to the King, and we would, between this and Saturday, talk of other things ; and the Duke of Norfolk should come in, and talk after his manner with the town of Leith, and make as good an end as he and they should accord on, which we thought would be done within twenty-four hours after his first salutation. This liked them worse than the former offers ; and hereupon they prayed us they might take respite for dinner time, and give us answer this afternoon, which they did, with great oaths and protestations that they neither had authority to accept this manner of proceeding, neither could it anywise be profitable to the matter, for hereof would grow greater enmity, and so both Princes should be further off from reconciliation. Indeed we considered their sayings to be true, and hearing some better speech in their offers, for the seizing both of the arms and title (although the ceasing of the arms was with great difficulty obtained) we were thus much contented ; that they should put

their offers, as largely as they might, in writing ; and we would send the same to your Majesty, as a thing whereupon we had suspended, and not accorded ; and in the mean season, to lose no time, we would proceed to other things ; and if your Majesty would not alter your mind for the recompence, it was but the loss of our labours ; and if you would in any point agree to their offers, we should be the further forward to the end of the rest. Surely this their offer is more than they would make if they had seen the answer to the protestation, wherein your Majesty did leave the manner of ceasing, and the amends of the use of your arms, to the arbitrement of King Philip ; and yet we have not allowed their offers, but have presented unto them others in more plain words, to the intent they might conceive theirs accordingly ; which they say they cannot, but will send the same to their master, with this affirmation—"that they cannot otherwise obtain any thing of us." As to the mention of removing the men out of Leith, and the rest of the words touching Dunbar and Inchkeith, the same are not accepted by us, nor by any direct conference required in that manner ; but our speech is to have all removed ; or else so many, and in such manner, as shall be accorded between them and the Scots, who as yet have not communed with them, but shall to-morrow.

Having written thus far, and late this evening receiving from them the articles which they said they would conceive, we found them worse than their talk ; and so, very sharply, required either

to proceed more frankly, or else to let us understand whether we should take our journey into England the next morning. With this we gave them, as we think, no good night. Now this morning, being Wednesday, very early in the morning the Bishop sent to me your Secretary, requiring me that he might speak with me in some place before Mons. de Randan should wake ; and so I did, with the advice of me, the Dean of Canterbury. The first matter was a motion of charity in the Bishop, to complain of myself to myself, for sore words that he said I had spoken overnight to his Secretary in an open presence, saying that his words were fair and his deeds foul ; and he must amend his deeds, or else I would end the treaty. This was but a prelude to further talk of your Majesty's matter : we agreed for ourselves ; and as for the articles, whereof I complained for divers respects, after much debate, this was communed between us (whereunto I the Dean of Canterbury came, by request of me the Secretary) that their articles should be sent to your Majesty, and ours should be sent to their Master ; and that in the mean season their men of war should depart out Leith, and our's also ; and that their army and preparations should be ceased, for the which they here would be hostages ; and that it should be lawful for your Majesty to see the same executed by your ministers ; and that Dunbar and Inchkeith should be ordered as they and the Scots should accord ; and all other things should be treated upon, and accorded here amongst us. These mat-

ters could not be well judged upon the sudden, and therefore we did neither allow them nor reject them, for that the Scots should treat the greater part thereof more conveniently than we ; but, for the sudden, we think (these things being performed by them, that is to say, Leith demolished, and their men sent thence ; the new fortification of Dunbar raised ; the Scottish men here soundly conjoined together against the French, the navy in France being disarmed, and the French bound that no other succour shall be given against Scotland) it shall not prove dangerous nor incommodious to your Majesty that your navy and army be relieved, and to leave 5000 or 6000 men at Berwick for a time, with all things ready, upon any just occasion, to enter to do any needful exploit in Scotland ; for we see your Majesty's navy here has need to return ; and if it shall do your Majesty any service it shall do the best conjoined with the rest. And yet, for all this our opinion, we mean to advise and ponder it better, and therein use the advice of your Council here ; meaning only for this present to make all the haste that we can possible to advertise your Majesty of some part of our doings ; and, howsoever the same shall be allowed, we trust your Majesty will think that we will omit no travel nor device whereby we may bring these matters to some such end as we have in charge.

And, surely, concerning the town of Leith, we perceive the necessity of their victuals is not such as has been reported. They have daily, beside their store, help, by taking of fresh salmon, plaice,

and other sea fish, both within their town and without. They occupy freely in the sea before their town two boats and two nets. They have of late been content to send victuals to Inchkeith, which argues no extreme necessity. Indeed they have, like wise men of war, made hard proportions to their base soldiers, and have driven the vulgar people to extremity, to seek their living by cockles, and other shell-fish upon the sea sands. As for Inchkeith, it is now of late well re-victualled, and so is Dunbar ; wherein truly we understand no lack ought to be imputed to your Majesty's navy.

We beseech your Majesty with all speed possible let us understand your pleasure in these things following. First, whether your Majesty will have us stand so earnestly upon satisfaction that without the same obtained we shall break, and put the matter to my Lord of Norfolk ; and, next, what manner of satisfaction or recompense we shall require, and obtain, or else break off. Item, if we give order to retire your army and navy, whither they shall be directed, how many shall remain at Berwick. Item, what we shall do touching certain prisoners taken on both sides ; whether in this treaty they shall be used as in a plain war, or that they shall be delivered on both parts, paying their ordinary charges. We fear we shall not well please such as have made a reckoning of gain hereof, nevertheless we shall do as shall please your Majesty to command us, for our purpose is to make peace, and that accords not with the case of men of war. We beseech your Majesty also to consi-

der the last article of the French Ambassador's, wherein mention is made of a ceasing from preparation both on your part and theirs ; if the same shall content your Majesty, we would be glad to understand with all speed.

We beseech your Majesty to pardon this patched letter, made at several hours, upon several moods of the French, and therefore the same hangs the worse together ; and so we most humbly pray to Almighty God long to preserve you to the defence of your right by just and fortunate war, or the recovery thereof by amicable treaty and compact.

From Edinburgh, the 19th of June, 1560.

Your Majesty's most humble subjects,
and obedient servants,

W. CECIL.

N. WOTTON.*

To the Queen's most excellent Majesty.

* Nicholas Wotton, at the same time Dean of Canterbury and York, fourth son of Sir Robert Wotton, of Boughton Malherb, in Kent, by Anne, sister and heir of Sir Edward Belknap, Comptroller of Calais. He was bred a civilian, and went, rather early in life, into the service of Henry VIII., who sent him to the Court of Vienna, charged with some trifling commissions. In the execution of these, however, he so thoroughly discovered his abilities and the bent of his genius, that he was afterwards employed by that Prince in several embassies of the greatest importance, both to Charles V. and Francis I. He obtained a seat in the Privy Council about 1545, and was one of the sixteen overseers of Henry's will. In the following reign he was appointed Principal Secretary, but soon quitted that office to resume his darling employment of foreign negociation, which happily withdrew him from the wretched scenes of Mary's government. He refused the Archbishoprick of Canterbury, which Elizabeth offered him soon after she came to the Throne, and was now, for the third time, appointed a commissioner to negotiate between the

No. XII.

(Cecil Papers, 1560.)

THE QUEEN

TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL AND DR WOTTON.

TRUSTY and right well-beloved, we greet you well; and let you wit we have received your letters of the 19th of this month, together with such articles and copies of writings as you sent by the same, whereby we do at good length understand what you have hitherto done with the French Commissioners touching the charge committed unto you. And, like as we do well perceive how wisely and carefully you have proceeded in all your doings, for the which we give unto you our hearty thanks, so do we easily guess that, having to deal with such persons, and in matters of so great importance, the same could not be without your great cumber and travail; and, nevertheless, we doubt not but as you have already very well begun, so you will go forwards, and prosecute the same to the end, wherein you shall do us very acceptable service.

As touching the points of your letters wherein you specially desire to know our resolution; we

English, French, and Scots, after having served in nine several embassies to various Princes of Europe.

Dr. Wotton died unmarried, at his house in Warwick-lane, Jan. 25, 1566, O. S. aged about 70. "Whose body," saith his funeral certificate, "was thence conveyed in a wagon to Canterbury, to the Deane's house there, accompanied with his own servants, to the nombre of xl men, on horsebacke; and was committyd to the earthe the xxvii day of Februarie; and that in the Easte ende of the Cathedrall churche, neere unto the Black Prince Edwarde's tombe, &c."

have communicated the same to our Privy Council, and, by their advice, have resolved therein as follows.

First, touching the satisfaction or recompense for the title and arms: we like very well the articles by you devised and proposed to the French for the leaving of our style and arms, and for the putting out and taking away both of the one and the other in places where the same have been set up, and altering of the grants and writings wherein the same is used. And, although the full of that you require is not in all points agreed unto by the French Commissioners, yet, because they seem by the articles by them proposed to come near thereunto in the most part, we think good ye do press them as earnestly as you can to agree that the said French King and Queen shall by open proclamation command our said title and arms (having been set up, graven, or painted, in any city, or town, or other place, of France or Scotland) to be taken down or defaced within six months after the date of this treaty. And in case the French Commissioners shall so obstinately stick at this point as the same, being by you pressed as much as may be, cannot be obtained at their hands; then are we pleased the same shall be referred to the order and arbitrement of our good brother the King of Spain. And as for the further demands for a full satisfaction of the great wrongs done to us by the using of our said title and arms, you may require for recompense of the same, as you have done, Calais, and 500,000 crowns. How-

beit in the end if that cannot be obtained, then may you refer the order for the said recompense unto a further treaty, between Commissioners to be appointed by us and the said French King and Queen ; with condition that if they shall not agree within three months from the date of this treaty, then the order for the recompense to be referred to our said good brother the King of Spain, as it is already offered ; so as he make an end and full order therein within one year next after the said three months, unless the said space of one year shall, by the consent both of us and of the said French King and Queen, be prolonged. And in case no end be made by our said good brother the King of Spain, that then our action, claim, and right, may remain, and be saved to us, against the said French King and Queen.

And if this accord go forwards, and that by the same it shall be agreed that the army and soldiers shall be retired ; our pleasure is that there shall be chosen out of our whole army the number of 2000 of the tallest and best appointed soldiers, whom we will shall remain and be placed at our town of Berwick, for the guard of that place, over and besides the old ordinary garrisons that were wont to be continued there, until our pleasure shall be otherwise signified in that behalf ; which we are the rather moved to think fit to be done, for that we consider that, besides many other purposes, the continuance of the said numbers at Berwick may be a good aid to the Lords of Scotland, to coun-

tenance and encourage them for the establishment of their state.

And if it come to pass that the treaty now in hand is agreed upon, whereby the French soldiers are to be removed out of Scotland, we think good in that case that the said French soldiers are sent away in the victualler's ships, and such other crayers or merchants' ships as may be found in the Frith, Berwick, Newcastle, or Hull ; they paying the charges of their transportation. And some of them, if it is required, may pass through this our realm by land ; so as they pass quietly, without breach of peace, or of our laws, and that they come not above 40 in one company together, and are unarmed, and without weapons other than their swords and daggers ; having also regard that it is surely provided, either by hostages or otherwise, that the English ships that shall convey over the said French soldiers may safely go and come, and that the charges of the said transportation of the French soldiers shall be duly answered. And, in case it shall be required by the said French Commissioners, it may be ordered that two or three of our own ships do see the said French soldiers wasted to the coasts of France ; foreseeing that our said ships enter no haven there. As for the prisoners on both sides, we think good it be agreed that they be put to liberty freely, so as they pay for their ordinary charges.

As touching the last article of the French Commissioners, wherein mention is made of a ceasing from preparation on both parts, we think the same

reasonable, and, therefore, are well pleased you agree thereto for your parts, in like sort as the French shall do for theirs. And, where in one article of the instructions given by us unto you at your departure hence we willed you to use all the best ways and means you could to bring the French to permit that the leauge * presently between us and the Scots might continue as it is now : or if it could not be brought to pass, or should not seem meet to be required, that yet, at the least, the substance thereof (tending to the preservation of the liberties of Scotland) might be agreed by contract between us and our nobility on the one part, and the French King, and the Queen of Scots, with the nobility of Scotland, on the other, &c., we will let you know what our will and pleasure is,

* Meaning the treaty concluded at Berwick on the 17th of February preceding, between the Commissioners for the Congregation and the Duke of Norfolk ; by which the former bound their party never to join with the French, but to resist them to the uttermost ; to assist Elizabeth with Scottish troops if any invasion of her country should be attempted : and to deliver hostages for the performance of these articles before her army should march to their relief. Elizabeth, on her part, engaged to send them a powerful reinforcement, both by land and sea ; and that whatever fortresses might be taken from the French should be razed, or garrisoned by the Scots, at their option ; a precaution wisely conceived by the latter against the ancient pretensions of the English, and the growing ambition of their monarch. Elizabeth's anxiety for the firm establishment of this treaty arose from motives of the deepest policy. Her apparent plan was merely to weaken the French monarchy by detaching the Scots from its interests, under the stale pretence of defending their liberties ; but her real design was to shake their allegiance to their natural Sovereign : to weaken them by dividing them into parties ; to deprive them of their only ally on the continent ; and thus to pave the way for a revolution which might eventually unite Scotland to her own dominions.

that touching that article ye shall, for a first degree, press as earnestly as you can that the said French King and Queen, and the said nobility of Scotland, may jointly covenant and agree as is contained in the articles of the said league. And in case, after you have pressed this point as earnestly as you can, you shall not be able to bring the French to agree thereunto, then, for a second degree, we would you travailed to persuade the French to permit that the said league may continue as it is now ; or, if that cannot be granted, that then, at the least, the substance thereof (tending to the preservation of the liberties of Scotland) may be agreed by such contract between us and our nobility, and the French King and Queen of Scots, with the nobility of Scotland, as is contained in the said article of our former instructions.

Finally, in all other points touching this treaty, and the order thereof, we refer the same to your good wisdoms and considerations, and to our said instructions ; knowing you will use the same in such sort as shall best stand with our honour, and furtherance of our service, whereof we have no doubt.

No. XIII.

(Cecil Papers.)

THE QUEEN

TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL AND DR. WOTTON.

By the Queen.

TRUSTY and right well beloved, we greet you well ; and, understanding by letters addressed

hither * from you our Secretary, that for your more certain and plain knowledge of our determinate pleasure whether you shall break off, if, for the league between us and the nobility of Scotland, you can neither obtain it to stand as it is, nor continued, or accorded to be made, betwixt us and the French King and Queen, and nobilities of this our and their realm of Scotland. For answer whereunto ; if the French Commissioners will by no means agree to either of the ways aforesaid (whereunto, nevertheless, we require you to press them by all the means and ways you may) in the end you may offer to them to have the same matters covenanted and concluded between us and the said King and Queen only, without any mentioning of the nobility of Scotland to be principal contrahentes ; having, nevertheless, a special covenant made and inserted in this treaty, that a good number of the most noble men, and best cities, of this our realm, and likewise of the realm of Scotland, may be named in the treaty : and be bound, not only for themselves, their heirs, and successors, to perform and keep all the articles and covenants contained in this treaty, but also to do all that in them and in every of them may be, that their Princes and Sovereigns shall perpetually hold and perform the same, in such or like form as was in times past concluded and agreed between our dearest late father, King Henry VIII. and the late King Francis, in the treaty of perpetual

* To Sir William Petre. See the letter here alluded to, dated June 21st, in Haynes, page 329.

peace ; the copy whereof, for that purpose, you shall receive herewith.

But, in the end, if you shall find the French Commissioners unwilling to agree to the end aforesaid, or some such like as may assure us of a continuance of this league and amity lately begun between us and the nobility of Scotland ; we must needs think they mean only by practice to gain time, and by breaking this league already agreed upon to make themselves the stronger, which we must not willingly suffer. And, therefore, if in the end they will agree to none the ways aforesaid, nor any other of like effect, and that may assure us (beside their Prince's promise only) of the continuance of our amity with the nobility of Scotland, and preservation of their reasonable liberty ; we would you should break off any further treaty. And as soon as you perceive that you shall not conclude, our pleasure is you do with diligence signify the same to our cousin of Norfolk, to the intent that he may with all good speed proceed with our army for Leith, and the rest, according to our former resolution ; to whom we have also written, upon that knowledge from you, to go forwards, in God's name, accordingly. In all which, and other your doings in this treaty, we doubt not you have, and will have, such foresight, as the Lords of Scotland may remain in courage ; and well understand that we seek chiefly their surety, and liberty of that realm ; and thereof you may assure them.

Given under our signet, at our manor of Greenwich, the of June, in the second year of our reign.

No. XIV.

(Cecil Papers. 1560.)

LORDS OF THE COUNCIL
TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL AND DR. WOTTON.

AFTER our right hearty commendations. By your letters of the 8th of this month unto the Queen's Majesty * it appears that the execution of the article touching the ceasing of the preparation on both sides is, for the manner, and time when, and in what sort the same shall be performed, referred to be agreed upon between the Queen's Majesty, or us, and the French Ambassador resident here. According whereunto, the said Ambassador having conferred with us therein, it is in the end ordered as follows.

It was first told him that the Queen's Majesty's forces remain only at two places : that is to say, in Scotland and at Portsmouth. And, like as her Highness had already given order for the ceasing of her Majesty's army that was in Scotland under the Duke of Norfolk, (saving only such a number as shall serve for the guarding of the holds upon the frontiers that are wont to be ordinarily kept in time of peace, whereof the French Commissioners can themselves be witnesses, having, we think,

* In Haynes, fol. 304. The letter before us was written in answer to it, probably on the 13th of July.

seen the more part of the said soldiers discharged) so has her Highness also given order for the disarming of her navy, which is now in executing with as good speed as conveniently may be. The Ambassador was therefore told that if, upon his signifying of this order unto the King his master, the said King shall appoint some certain time within twelve or fourteen days, when Mr. Throgmorton, her Majesty's Ambassador in France, may send some of his folks along the sea-coast, to see and understand how this article for the ceasing of preparations is observed in France, her Majesty will also, upon knowledge from her Highness' said Ambassador of the time that shall be there agreed upon for that purpose, take order here that the said French Ambassador shall then, at his liberty, send some such as he shall appoint unto Portsmouth, to see that her Majesty does the like on her side. And this is the order that has been taken with the said French Ambassador touching this matter, which her Highness has signified unto Mr. Throgmorton ; and we also have thought good to impart the same unto you, to the end you may make the Commissioners privy thereunto, in case you shall think convenient.

And, where, by your letters written to me, Sir William Petre, you signify the Lord Grey's request to have liberty to repair hither for fourteen days, wherein you desire to know her Majesty's pleasure ; you shall understand that, her Highness having been moved therein, albeit she seems not unwilling to grant the said Lord Grey's request

when convenience shall serve, yet, considering how rawly things stand at this present upon those borders, her Majesty thinketh not convenient the said Lord Grey do yet remove thence ; and, nevertheless, upon your coming hither her Highness will be pleased, when she shall understand the state of all things there, to license him to repair hither as soon as her Majesty shall perceive the same may be with the surety of her service.

No. XV.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. E. fol. 109.)

FRANCIS ALEN
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

Right honourable, and my singular good Lord, I ACCOUNT myself so much bounden unto your good Lordship as methinks I cannot without breach of my duty towards you hide any thing from you that may either hinder or avail your good Lordship, of whose wisdom, nevertheless, it becomes me not to doubt, for the using of your knowledge thereafter of any such thing without communicating the same to others.

There is like to be a calling down of the base money,* I understand, very shortly ; and the Queen's Majesty has sworn that the day and time

* The silver coin, which had been shamefully adulterated by Hen. VIII., was called in soon after this time, and recoined. ALEN's apprehensions of private loss proved groundless, for the Queen was the only sufferer, as she purchased the money at its nominal value.

shall be kept secret to herself, and that few besides shall know ; so as the very time, whensoever it chances, will be so short and sudden, that men are like to have small warning of the matter. I doubt not but your Lordship will foresee and provide, for one ; and if my signifying hereof may anywise please your Lordship, whom I have always found so much my good Lord, I shall be very glad to have so well bestowed these few lines, and shall most humbly beseech your Lordship to take my good meaning towards your Lordship in very good part.

The Queen's Highness upon Friday last came to Windsor ; and, being every hour in a continual expectation of the King of Sweden's * coming, is looked for to be shortly here at Westminster ; and so much the sooner as the works now there in hand may be finished and brought to any perfection ; where they work both night and day. It is reported that against Allhallowtide her Majesty will call a Parliament, and that her Highness said she would do so when she was at Winchester. She liked so well my Lord Treasurer's house, and his great cheer at Basing, that she openly and merrily bemoaned him to be so old, "for else, by my troth," said she, "if my Lord Treasurer were a young man, I could find in my heart to have him to my husband before any man in England."

My poor wife, your Lordship's gossip, has her

* Eric XIV., one of Elizabeth's first suitors. This Prince, who, as we are here informed, was now hourly expected in London, neither made his visit, nor even left his own capital. Such was the uncertainty of intelligence at that time.

most humbly commended; and your god-son Francis, I thank God, waxes a jolly boy. I beseech God long preserve your good Lordship.

At Westminster, the 3rd of September, 1560.
Your good Lordship's, most bounden to command,

FRANCIS ALEN.

*To the right honourable and my very good Lord
the Earl of Shrewsbury.*

No. XVI.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. P. fol. 409.)

SIR ROBERT DUDLEY
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

AFTER my most hearty commendations unto your Lordship. I thought good, having reposed a special confidence in your Lordship's friendship and good will towards my brother Ambrose and me, to participate unto your Lordship this comfortable news; which are that it hath pleased the Queen's Majesty, of her great bounty and goodness, to restore our house to the name of Warwick, and as yesterday has created my said brother Earl thereof, to the gladness, I trust, of your Lordship, and such other as are our friends. So I bid your Lordship most heartily farewell.

At the Court, the 27th of December, 1561.

Your Lordship's assuredly,

R. DUDLEY.

*To my very good Lord the Earl
of Shrewsbury.*

No. XVII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. P. fol. 422.)

THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY TO—

AFTER my hearty commendations. Where I perceive by your letters the fruitless and unadvised answers of my freeholders within Hallomshire, and other places, touching their relief, or lawful aid,* which they ought to pay unto me at the marriage of my daughter; I have thereof no little marvel, considering that at their hands I do desire no more than of right they owe, and but that which the laws

* This was one of the many services anciently exacted from tenants in capite. It is called in the old law books *ayde pur file marier*, but could only be claimed on the marriage of the eldest daughter of the lord, in like manner as the *ayde pur fair filz Chevalier* was on the knighthood of the eldest son. See the act of the 12th of C. II. by which these tenures were abolished. The refractory tenants soon after submitted to the Earl's demand, as appears by the following paper (*Talbot papers, vol. P. fol. 431.*)

Com. Ebor. "A brief note of the benevolence received by Nott. et Derb. Edward Hatfield of my Lord's offices and tenants within the said counties, given unto his Lordship towards the marriage of the Lady Catherine, his eldest daughter, Anno Reginis Domine Elizabeth Regnie quinto; as particularly appears by a book made of the same. 1563."

" Southe, £23. 16. 6.—Bradfield, £20. 10. 8.—Ecclesfield, £23. 8. 7.—Sheffield, £22. 4.—Sheffield Park, £8. 7. 2.—Whiston, £16. 19. 2.—Treton and aliis, £18. 8. 1.—Terr. fornic. £35. 8. 3.—Chesterfield, £11. 9. 6.—Dronefield Guild, £11. 13. 1.—Totley, £1. 16. 7.—Plesley, £4. 13. 10.—Gledleys, £3. 13. 4.—Rotherham, £26. 5. 4.—Kimberworth, £23. 11. 8.—Bolster-ton, £25. 17.—Worksop, cum membris, £28. 12. 8.—Rufford and aliis, nihil.—Spondon, nihil.—Winfield, and aliis, nihil.—Cryche, and aliis, nihil.—Kirbywoodhouse, nihil.—Chantry of the Monastery of Longsdon and Helmdon, Pilesbury and Crookston, £14. 2. 1."

of this realm do both give me and will compel them to pay, as all my learned counsel have fully resolved with me. Whereof throughout all Shropshire, and other places where my lands do lie, I have not been so answered as most nearest home, albeit the case, through long sufferance, be grown to as great doubt amongst them as where you have been. Wherefore I will you declare unto such as you shall think most expedient of them, that I am determined by law to constrain those obstinate persons to pay that which by fair means I have demanded, and would thankfully have received at their hands, which being declared, you may stay your further dealing with them, and you shall eftsoons hear from me therein, which you shall very shortly.

And, perceiving also that you have moved those of Hartington in this matter; my meaning was in no wise you should do so, but only to have made that request to my freeholders, farmers, and copyholders, and not unto such as were tenants unto me as a farmer; wherefore I will you stay your further proceeding with them until you shall eftsoons hear from me therein. And so, with thanks for the residue of your doings and diligence, for this time I bid you farewell.

From Coldharbour, the 20th of March, 1562.

No. XVIII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. E. fol. 141.)

LORDS OF THE COUNCIL
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

We commend us unto your good Lordship, and finding that your Lordship has not, according to our late letters sent unto you, satisfied the Queen's Majesty in her receipt of the Exchequer of such sums of money as we signified were due by you to her Highness ; neither yet made any declaration what good cause your Lordship had to allege for the contrary. Like as we cannot but account your Lordship's doings herein very strange, and such as are not to be borne withall, so have we thought good eftsoons to require your Lordship in her Majesty's name, all delays and excuses set apart, to make payment forthwith into her Highness' said receipt of all sums of money as are owing by your Lordship to her Majesty ; and immediately thereupon to send unto us sufficient testimony that you have satisfied the same, declaring what good matter you have to excuse your former contempt. Which if your Lordship shall not without delay and protract of time accomplish, we cannot but, according to her Majesty's express commandment given unto us, see her Highness' laws put in against your Lordship, which we would be sorry to do, and therefore we require your Lordship to have such regard hereof as becometh you. So fare you well.

From Windsor, the 22nd of December, 1563.

Yorkshire Sc. Comite Shrewsburie
 reddit hoc anno quinto Eliz. £ 57. 10. 10.
 Your Lordship's loving friends,
 N. BACON, C. S. WINCHESTER.
 RY. SACKVILLE. PEMBROKE.
 W. CECIL.

*To our loving and very good Lord,
 the Earl of Shrewsbury give
 these, Com. Ebor.*

No. XIX.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. E. fol. 149.)

SIR WILLIAM CECIL
 TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

It may please your honourable good Lordship to understand that, of singular confidence, the Queen's Majesty has ordained your Lordship to be her Lieutenant General in Yorkshire, &c., as by her commission herewith sent shall more largely appear. And I have a bill signed for your Lordship to license you to retain 100 persons; which bill I will deliver to my Lord of Leicester, because his Lordship required me to procure the like both for himself and your Lordship. And so humbly I take my leave.

From Richmond, the 30th of July, 1565.

Your Lordship's humbly at commandment,

W. CECIL.

I pray your Lordship that my humble compliments may be given to my good Lady.

*To the right honourable the Earl of Shrewsbury,
 Lord Justice of all Forests, &c., beyond
 Trent.*

No. XX.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. E. fol. 157.)

THE EARL OF BEDFORD
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

AFTER my very hearty commendations to your good Lordship. By your Lordship's gentle letter of the 11th of this present I understand that you have received the Queen's Majesty's commission of lieutenancy for the counties of York, Nottingham, and Derby (as I have, in like manner, for the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, and the Bishoprick of Durham) whereof, for her Majesty's service, I am very glad ; hoping to find such aid and assistance thereby, in your Lordship and by your means, as shall be requisite and appertain. And touching the number of 2000 men appointed to be levied for the succour of this her Majesty's peace, to the number of 1600 there in Yorkshire, and the residue, being 400, within the Bishoprick, now my charge ; and having conferred upon this part of your Lordship's letter with the Sheriff of that county palatine, and other worshipful of the same, for the better putting the said number of 400 in readiness, upon the sudden, or otherwise, as chance shall require ; they do affirm that they never had order or commandment for the levying of the same, nor that it has been heretofore seen that the Bishoprick should be charged with the sending forth of any, since the same is the strength and refuge appointed wholly and altogether to come to aid this place, and the

unpeopled frontiers here ; and that in taking any from them we do so much decay our own force. Wherefore, since your Lordship hath not the charge to levy the whole 2000, I shall nevertheless use some part of my authority in this behalf, and give them order that the same 400 shall be in a readiness, as my Lords of the Council's order was they should. If in any other thing I shall at any time need your good Lordship's help or aid, I shall not fail to let your Lordship understand thereof from time to time.

News here are, as now, very few out of Scotland, other than the Duke of Chatelherault, the Earls of Argyle and Murray, are now together in the furthest parts of that realm ; what will ensue thereupon time will declare. Certain rebels of Scotland, called Elwoods, being at feud with the sirname of the Scots in Liddesdale, have of late done marvellous spoils, and still cease not to do ; wherewith the realm is somewhat troubled.

And to your Lordship's second letter, for my Lord Dacre's coming to assemble with other my Lords at Morpeth, when I understood how far his Lordship was off, I considered that the time was very short for his Lordship to come thither, and therefore thought the better of his absence ; knowing right well that in all things that shall be for her Majesty's service he will, according to his place and calling, employ himself as shall appertain. Thus, with my hearty thanks to your good Lordship, I end at this time, and bid the same as myself farewell.

From Berwick, this 17th of August, 1565.

Your good Lordship's right assured,

F. BEDFORD.*

*To the right honourable my very good Lord,
the Earl of Shrewsbury, Knight of the
Order, and Lord Lieutenant of the coun-
ties of York, Nottingham, and Derby.*

No. XXI.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. E. fol. 161.)

THE EARL OF BEDFORD
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

APTER my hearty commendations to your good Lordship. And for that there are 1600 men allotted within your Lordship's charge for the succour and aid of this town, as need should require ; and, forasmuch as the proceedings of our neighbours the Scots seem to tend rather to the breach than the continuance of good amity (for that they have now of late stayed Mr. Randolph in Edinburgh, or rather, as I fear, committed him to safe keeping ; and Mr. Tamworth at Dunbar, whence he cannot come +) it shall be, therefore,

* Francis Russel, second Earl of Bedford, Governor of Berwick, and Warden of the East Marches ; a nobleman of an excellent character, which is summed up in few words by Camden, who says he was a true follower of religion and virtue. He died July 28th, 1585, aged 58.

† Randolph and Tamworth were at this time Elizabeth's principal agents in Scotland. The former was of a dark intriguing spirit, full of cunning, and void of conscience. There is little doubt that the unhappy divisions in Scotland were chiefly foisted by this man's artifices for more than twenty years together. Tamworth, who was of the Queen's Privy Chamber, bore the style of Ambassador Resident ; and his public character seems

very good for her Majesty's service that the number aforesaid, appointed hither, be by your Lordship's order commanded to be at all times ready, upon such warning as shall be given them by your good Lordship. And yet mean I not hereby that their preparation so upon the sudden should minister any occasion of overture of wars, for that is not her Majesty's intent in this behalf; but so to have all things in readiness as to provide for wars and yet to preserve good peace. Of this their doings I have advertised her Majesty, hoping of some speedy answer and resolution herein. And so, with my most hearty thanks, I bid your good Lordship as myself farewell.

From Berwick, this 21st of August, 1565.

Your good Lordship's right assured,

F. BEDFORD.

*To the right honourable and my very good Lord
the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Lieutenant of
the Counties of York, Nottingham, and
Derby, and Knight of the most noble
order of the Garter. Haste, haste, haste,
haste, post, haste with all possible haste.*

to have been meant as a screen for Randolph's operations. He was sent to remonstrate to Mary on her late marriage with Lord Darnley, without Elizabeth's consent, and, as she pretended, without her knowledge. He had the character of a vain, insolent man; and his behaviour to the Queen of Scots and her husband was accordingly deficient even in point of common decency. The detention of these persons in Scotland is not mentioned in any history that I have examined. Randolph, who was, in fact a complete spy in Scotland, is always called in the multifarious secret correspondence of Elizabeth's ministers with her agents there, "Mr. Barnaby." (*Sadlier Papers* *passim*.)

No. XXII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. E. fol. 165.)

FRAGMENT.

SIR THOMAS GARGRAVE
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

—THE last week but one, about Thursday seven-night, the Scotch Queen went from Edinburgh to Stirling, and then to Glasgow, where her company, about 3000 men, were assembled ;* and the next day the Duke and his company came into the field nigh Glasgow, and there looked for the battle ; but, for that none came abroad, they marched forward to the town's end, where the Queen lay, and so to Hamilton, and the next day to Edinburgh, where they remain. The Queen hath 500 harquebusses, and certain field pieces ; the others have neither shot nor ordnance, nor any better holds than their dwelling-houses. There is, also, on the other side, the Queen, the Earl of Argyle, with 2000 of the Irishmen ; so the Queen is be-wixt her enemies. God send all quiet to his plea-

* Murray, who had been lately outlawed for his violent opposition to the Queen's marriage, now appeared in arms with the Duke of Chatelherault, and other Lords of the reformed party, encouraged by the secret promises of Elizabeth, and Mary, within one month after her nuptials, marched in person to chastise them. Her army soon increased to the number of 18,000, and her opponents, after various ineffectual offers of treaty, fled into England to claim the performance of Elizabeth's engagements ; but she, who had meant no more than to make them the temporary instruments of reviving a factious spirit which Mary's growing popularity had almost extinguished, not only openly slighted them, but, reprimanding them for their disloyalty, in the face of her whole Court, banished them from her presence.

sure, and preserve your Lordship in health and honour, to your Lordship's good contentation.

At York, in haste, the 7th of September, 1565.

Your good Lordship's ever humble to command,

THOMAS GARGRAVE.

*To the right honourable and his singular good
Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Lieu-
tenant of the counties of York, Notting-
ham, and Derby, be these delivered.*

No. XXIII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. E. fol. 187.)

SIR WILLIAM CECIL
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

My honourable and singular good Lord,

My due commendations humbly remembered, I send you herewith the Queen's Majesty's letters, being sorry to have you troubled therewith, but that I know the service of the Queen's Majesty is always acceptable to you. Whatsoever your Lordship shall hear otherwise I cannot otherwise ascertain you but that it is meant by her Majesty to keep peace with Scotland; and not to make war, but what she shall be provoked by invasion; and to that end I think all counsellors here are inclining. And yet it is true that the ruin of the Lords*

* The exiled noblemen remained in England for several months, in the most abject situation, though privately supplied with money by Elizabeth. The assassination of Rizzio, in March following, a circumstance which again divided the Scots into two rancorous parties, afforded them a fit opportunity of returning; and, prudently considering how material their weight would prove

our friends in Scotland, must needs hinder the intelligence and amity betwixt the realms ; but, for my part, I think no surety to enter into war without just cause.

My Lord Montague came home yesterday, and his colleagues will be here this night. They have, by consent, suspended the treaty until the 15th of March next. And so, with my humble commendations to my honourable good Lady, I end.

From Westminster, the 8th of November,
1565.

Your Lordship's humbly at commandment,

W. CECIL.

*To the Right honourable my very good Lord,
the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Lieutenant
for the Queen's Majesty, in the counties
of York, Nottingham, and Derby.*

No. XXIV.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. E. fol. 189.)

FRANCIS ALEN
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

IF I have not, good my Lord, satisfied your honour's expectation (as is my chief desire) in that I have not of late visited you with some occur-

to either, they appeared in the royal presence the very day after that weak and barbarous fact was perpetrated. The event was equal to their warmest wishes. The King received them with open arms ; and Mary, with that unhappy versatility which always marked her character, joyfully accepted the countenance of those men for whom, not three days before, she had been meditating the severest punishments.

rence, your Lordship shall understand that the forbearing so to do has partly proceeded of the hope I conceived, and looked for every day, when this bearer, Mr. Constable, should make his repair unto you ; by whom, because he is a friend, I thought my letter should be both the better welcome, and also the more safely delivered unto your Honour's hands. And, the account being made, your Lordship shall loose nothing thereby ; for look, what I have hitherto omitted I mean to supply herein with the more diversity of matter.

In my last letter I remember to have signified of my Lord Lumley's and Sir Walter Mildmay's going into Scotland,* which was then as verily meant as I meant now to write to your Honour when I took pen in my hand ; and whether the embassy hold yet or not it is hitherto uncertain, and chiefly depends upon such answer as the Queen our mistress is to receive from the Queen of Scots, of her letters lately sent thither touching that matter. The Earl of Lennox is made Governor of Scotland, to whom the Queen there hath given 20,000 marks, Scottish, by the year, which they say amounts to 5000 marks a year sterling, or thereabout.† This morning departed the Duke of Norfolk from London towards his country ; whom the Earls of Leicester and Warwick, my Lord Chamberlain, and other nobles and gentlemen of the

* This embassy appears not to have taken place.

† We have here a remarkable proof of the little commercial intercourse between England and Scotland at that time. Alen, who seems to have been a man of business, speaks doubtfully of the value of Scottish money.

Court, accompanied out of the city, and brought him onward on his journey, doing him all the honour they could. The next week it is thought the Queen's Majesty will remove ; not, as it was first intended, to Greenwich, but to Windsor ; and what likelihood there be that her Highness will marry out of hand, and with whom, because this bearer is able to report as much as I can write, I will be so bold in that matter as to refer your Honour unto his credit: About the end of this week the Ambassador of Spain is looked for without fail to return out of Flanders : and as Mr. Hobby goes shortly Ambassador into France, so doth one Mr. Man,* of Oxford, go into Spain unto King Philip : the Queen, in that respect, hath presently promoted the said Mr. Man unto the Deanery of Gloucester.

The Marquiss of Baden, being gone home into Germany, has left here behind him in the Court the Lady Cecily † his wife, with whose com-

* Sir Thomas Hobby, of Bisham Abbey in Berkshire ; who died Ambassador at Paris in the following year—John Man, Dean of Gloucester.—The latter made a very poor figure in his embassy, which gave occasion for a pitiful jest from Elizabeth, who said that as the King of Spain had sent *Gooseman* (Gusman) Dean of Toledo, hither, she had sent *Man*, Dean of Gloucester, who was a *Goose*, thither.

† This lady, who was the daughter of Gustavus Ericson, King of Sweden, married in 1564 Christopher, second son of Bernard, first Margrave of Baden in Baden, a Lutheran. The slenderness of their patrimony induced them to court the protection of Elizabeth, not celebrated for her munificence. Their eldest son, from whom the present Margraves are descended, was born in London this year, and the Queen, who was his godmother, named him Edward Fortunatus. He became a Roman Catholic, and inherited the estates of his father and uncle ; but, contracting great debts,

Lordship, whom I beseech God long to continue in health and honour.

At Westminster, the 11th of December, 1565.

Your Honour's to command,

F. ALEN.

Postscript. Your Lordship shall understand that now there is no removing at all, but her Majesty is fully resolved to keep her Christmas here at Westminster. And before the making up of this my letter, while it stayed with me till Mr. Constable should, according to his promise, have sent for the same, I learned further these occurrences following.

From out of France ; that the French King,* who hath been brought up from his infancy in the old religion, and rules now absolutely by himself, doth, with the universal consent of his clergy and nobility, all that may be to the settling and establishment thereof throughout all his dominions and countries ; insomuch that there is no office, they say, of trust committed to any man unless he be known, and well tried beforehand, to be a Catholic. And that the great part of the nobles being presently assembled at the Court, there is come thither the Cardinal of Guise and Lorraine, and the young Duke of Guise, calling upon justice against Chatillon,† and others that were suspected for the

* Charles IX. now fifteen years of age. The plan for extirpating the Huguenots, which began with the Massacre of Paris, and ended in the bloody war of the League, now occupied all the attention of the French Court.

† The famous Admiral de Coligny. Francis, Duke of Guise.

murdering of his father; which matter, they say, shall now be judicially proceeded withal by order of the law.

From out of Italy; that the Pope has promised to contribute to the defence of Malta the sum of 15,000 crowns, and to find 3000 soldiers besides by the space of five months, at the charge of the church of Rome.

From Constantinople; that the Turk, in his great fury and rage for the late evil success of his army at Malta, has commanded, besides other great preparations, 50 new galleys to be made out of hand; and in great despite hath pulled down all the churches and synagogues, both of the Christians and of the Jews, where before he suffered them to use their own rites and ceremonies.

To the right honourable my very good Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury, one of the Knights of the most honourable order of the Garter.

No. XXV.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. E. fol. 197.)

SIR GEORGE BOWES
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

Pleaseth it your good Lordship,
THE whole gentlemen and inhabitants of the North Riding in Yorkshire have appointed and required this bearer, John Layton, a very honest gentleman, to be solicitor for the recovery of the armour and

was treacherously killed in 1563, at the siege of Orleans, by Pol-trot, a Huguenot; and the Admiral, who was the leader of the reformed party, was suspected of being privy to the murder.

weapon lately delivered to the Captains at Berwick out of this said North Riding, by virtue of sundry commissions from your Lordship, for the re-delivery whereof it is much doubted that the said Captains will use all the delay they can; so that it will not be obtained unless it please your Lordship to write to the Earl of Bedford, requiring his Lordship to command the said Captains to deliver the said armour and weapon (according to such tripartite indentures, one part whereof remains with your Lordship, and another part with the said Captains, and the third part with the Justices of Peace, whereby the said Captains received the same armour and weapon) which the country fully looks for again by your Lordship's good means. Having addressed this said bearer, for that respect, to your Lordship, unto whom I humbly beseech your Lordship to impart your pleasure; for surely by the delivery hereof your Lordship will obtain great honour, and win great good-will of the gentlemen and inhabitants of the country, which emboldens me to move your Lordship to call earnestly for the said armour.

I am sorry to hear of the death of my Lord Dacre's son and heir; * whose death, and the youth of him that is now heir, I fear will break

* Thomas, seventeenth Lord Dacre. He left an only son, who not long survived him, and three daughters, to whom the inheritance of the family estates was decreed by Commissioners appointed for that purpose, to the prejudice of Leonard Dacre, their uncle, who claimed under an award made in the reign of Edward IV. Leonard, hereupon, conceived a personal hatred to Elizabeth; and we find him an active party in every conspiracy against her for the remainder of his life.

the alliance meant betwixt your Lordship and him ; but all must be as God will ; unto whom I shall daily pray for the increase of your Lordship's honour, and rest at your Lordship's commandment.

From my house at South Cowton, this 5th of February, 1565.

Your Lordship's wholly at commandment,
GEORGE BOWES.*

*To the right honourable and my singular good
Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Lieu-
tenant of the counties of York, Nottingham,
and Derby.*

No. XXVI.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. E. fol. 212.)

BY THE QUEEN.

ELIZABETH R.

RIGHT trusty and right well-beloved cousin, we greet you well. Forasmuch as it hath been declared unto us on your behalf that, for certain your urgent and necessary business, your request is to be dispensed of your coming to the feast of Saint

* Sir George Bowes, Knight, one of the ancient possessors of those great northern estates which of late years produced such strange circumstances. He was Provost Marshal of the army in 1569, when he fortified Bernard Castle, and defended it bravely against the rebels, till he was forced to surrender for want of provisions. After this insurrection was suppressed, he had, by his office, the charge of punishing the offenders ; which he executed with such terrible severity that no less than eight hundred persons are said to have suffered at the gallows by his order. He married Dorothy, daughter of Sir William Mallory, who brought him three sons ; and a second wife, by whom he had no issue. Streatlam Castle, in Durham, the most ancient estate belonging to this gentleman's family, was derived from a Sir John Trayner, who was living in 1310, and who left an only daughter, who married Adam Bowes, the first of the name on record.

George now next coming, we let you wit that we are pleased to grant unto you your said request, and by these presents do license you to be absent from the said feast; and these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge on that behalf.

Given under our seal of our order, the first day of April, 1566, the eighth year of our reign.*

*To our right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin
the Earl of Shrewsbury, Companion of our
order of the Garter.*

No. XXVII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. E. fol. 213.)

THE EARL OF BEDFORD
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

AFTER my hearty commendations to your good Lordship. This gentleman, your Lordship's servant, my Lord your son hath dispatched unto you, to understand, as I gather, your pleasure for his return unto you home. His presence (unless your Lordship do the rather desire it) I am of opinion that few here could be well content to forego, such

* The grand feast of the order of the Garter had been held annually at Windsor on St. George's day ever since the reign of Edward III. the founder. It lasted three days, with ceremonies little differing from those still used at installations. Elizabeth, at a chapter held in the year following, directed that it should be kept in future wheresoever the Sovereign might happen to be on that day; hoping, perhaps, to do away by degrees a custom which was attended with a great expense to the Crown: and she succeeded in some measure; for, though her successor restored it to Windsor, it was never after held with strict regularity. Dispensations of this kind were not unusual, but appear to have been generally granted with more formality. The festival of St. George occupies no less than 152 pages in Ashmole's Institution of the Garter.

is the honour and courtesy in him towards all men; and I, for my part, should be most unwilling, were it not that your Lordship's pleasure is to be followed; and so to go or tarry shall be your Lordship's to command, and his welcome and thanks no whit the less. This gentleman has taken pains, as all others do who come hither, and has attended diligently on his Lordship, so as he deserves thanks therefore.

As to the news and occurrences of Scotland, the same be, as yet, few other than I wrote by my last letters. The Queen is now content to hear others give her good advice, which of late she could in no wise abide; and can herself also devise and make such offers; that is to say, to renounce her title, and commit the government of the Prince to the Lords, and she herself to go abroad into a foreign realm: these she thinks to be things plausible, and therefore gives them forth, but I wot not whether the same will be so accepted as peradventure her meaning has been, and is, therein.* The Lords are assembled at their convention, and great things are looked for to be now established by them, besides the resolution what answer to make to the Queen's Majesty's Ambas-

* After Mary's inexcusable marriage with the Earl of Bothwell, all the Scottish factions united against her, and, according to the manner of the country, soon appeared in arms. The Queen once more left a bridal bed to take the field; but her troops refusing to engage, she was obliged to surrender, and the confederate Lords led her to Lochleven Castle, where she was now a close prisoner. On the 24th of July, two days after the date of this letter, she subscribed a formal resignation of the Crown, having previously appointed Murray Regent.

sador * there, who hath not yet spoken with her ; and it seems they have no will that he should so do as yet, till they see further.

And thus, thinking myself much beholden to your Lordship, that it would please you to license my Lord your son so long to tarry in this poor and barren soil, I shall rest your Lordship's assured as any friend you have. And so, with my most hearty thanks, commit you to God.

From Berwick, this 22nd of July, 1567.

Your good Lordship's right assured,

F. BEDFORD.

No. XXVIII.

(Cecil Papers.)

THE EARL OF SUSSEX TO THE QUEEN.

It may please your most excellent Majesty.

THE 24th of September the Archduke † arrived here, and the 26th, in the morning, he gave me

* Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was sent into Scotland to remonstrate against these violent measures, but the malcontents refused to hearken to him, nor would they allow him to see the Queen of Scots. Elizabeth's future conduct proves that she was not induced to take this conciliating step by any motive of personal regard to the royal prisoner ; neither was it with a view of bringing about any particular arrangement of Scottish affairs for her own advantage ; but she felt the wound which the monarchical character had received in so bold an attack, and dreaded the further consequences of such an example, especially as it had occurred in a country, the religion, language, laws, and customs of which so nearly resembled those of her own people.

† Charles of Austria, youngest son of the Emperor Ferdinand I. and brother to Maximilian II., the reigning Emperor. There is great reason to believe that Elizabeth passionately desired to marry this accomplished Prince ; but the dread of admitting, however partially, the exercise of a religion whose professors denied

audience; at which time, after his Highness had long and earnest talk of your Majesty (with great contentment, as it seemed to me) I made a short and general declaration unto him of the causes wherein I had dealt with the Emperor, offering to treat more particularly with him when he should have the commodity to command me. Whereunto his Highness answered that he perceived the great favour your Majesty had oftentimes shewed to him, for the which he humbly thanked you, and rested, therefore, ready to employ his service at your commandment. He had referred the order of all matters to the Emperor, notwithstanding, I should at all times find him willing to confer with me in any thing when I would, and glad of my company at all times. On Michaelmas-day, in the afternoon, the Emperor rode in his coach to see the Archduke run at the ring; who commanded me to run at his side; and my Lord North, Mr. Cobham, and Mr. Powell, on the other

her right to the Crown, deterred her from it. We shall find in the next letter the Earl's first conversation on the matter of faith with the Archduke, who persevered steadily in the sentiments he avowed at that time. After several proposals on this subject, made by him and rejected by Elizabeth, he condescended to request that he might be allowed a chapel at Court on these conditions—That no Englishman should be admitted to it—that if his way of worship should happen to give offence, he would forbear it for a time—that he should be present with the Queen at the service of the Church of England—and that neither himself, nor any of his, should speak anything to the disparagement of the established religion. But Elizabeth answered that, should she admit even of this, she must wrong her conscience, and make a palpable violation of the laws, if not endanger her honour and security. Hereupon the negotiation was broken off; and the Archduke soon after married Mary, daughter of Albert V., Duke of Bavaria. He died July 1, 1590, aged 50.

side. And, after the running was done, he rode on a courser of Naples ; and surely his Highness, in the order of his running, the managing of his horse, and the manner of his seat, governed himself exceedingly well, and so as, in my judgment, it was not to be amended. Since which time I have had divers conferences with the Emperor, and with his Highness apart, as well in times of appointed audience as in several huntings ; wherein I have viewed, observed, and considered of his person and qualities, as much as by any means I might ; and have also, by good diligence, enquired of his state ; and so have thought fit to advertise your Majesty what I conceive of myself or understand by others, which I trust your Majesty shall find to be true in all respects.

His Highness is of person higher surely a good deal than my Lord Marquis ; his hair of head and beard of a light auburn ; his face well proportioned, amiable, and of a very good complexion, without shew of redness or over paleness ; his countenance and speech cheerful, very courteous, and not without some state ; his body well shaped, without deformity or blemish ; his hands very good and fair ; his legs clean, well proportioned, and of sufficient bigness for his stature ; his foot as good as may be. So as, upon my duty to your Majesty, I find not one deformity, mis-shape, or any thing to be noted worthy of misliking in his whole person ; but, contrariwise, I find his whole shape to be good, worthy of commendation and liking in all respects, and such as is rarely to be found in

such a Prince. His Highness, besides his natural language of Dutch, speaketh very well Spanish and Italian, and, as I hear, Latin. His dealings with me are very wise; his conversation such as much contents me; and, as I hear, none return discontented from his company. He is greatly beloved here of all men. The chiefest gallants of these parts are his men, and follow his Court; the most of them have travelled other countries, speak many languages, and behave themselves thereafter; and truly we cannot be so glad there to have him come to us, as they will be sad here to have him go from them. He is reported to be wise, liberal, valiant, and of great courage, which in the last wars he well shewed, in defending all his countries free from the Turk, with his own force only, and giving them divers overthrows when they attempted any thing against his rules; and he is universally (which I most weigh) noted to be of such virtue as he was never spotted or touched with any notable vice or crime, which is much in a Prince of his years, endued with such qualities. He delights much in hunting, riding, hawking, exercise of feats of arms, and hearing of music, whereof he hath very good. He hath, as I hear, some understanding in astronomy and cosmography, and takes pleasure in clocks that set forth the course of the planets. He hath for his portion the countries of Styria, Carinthia, Friola, Carniola, Trieste, and Istria, and has the government of that is left in Croatia, wherein, as I hear, he may ride, without entering any other man's territories,

near 300 miles ; in which countries he has mines of gold, silver, quicksilver, latton, lead, copper, copperas, alum, and iron. He makes great store of the best wines and salt in these parts: and has great customs of cattle, grain, wines, and all other things that pass out of his countries, or through his countries, into Italy, or other parts of Germany on his side the river Danube ; and surely he is a great Prince in subjects, territories, and revenues; and lives in great honour and state, with such a Court as he that sees it will say is fit for a great Prince.

And, to the end your Majesty might be the better informed in every particular, I have thought good to send the bearer hereof, Mr. Cobham, with these ; who has, by my procurement, had divers speeches with his Highness, and thereby can the better satisfy your Majesty, of his own knowledge, in any thing that it may please you to command. And so I shall pray to God to send your Majesty your heart's desire in all things.

From Vienna, the 18th of October, 1567.

Your Majesty's most humble and faithful
subject and servant,

T. SUSSEX.*

* Thomas Ratcliffe, Earl of Sussex, eldest son of Henry, the second Earl, by Elizabeth, one of the daughters of Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk. This great man's conduct united all the splendid qualities of those eminent persons who jointly rendered Elizabeth's Court an object of admiration to Europe, and seems to have been perfectly free from their faults. Wise and loyal as Burghley, without his blind attachment to the monarch ; vigilant as Walsingham, but disdaining his low cunning ; magnificent as Leicester,

but incapable of hypocrisy; and brave as Raleigh, with the piety of a primitive christian; he seemed above the common objects of human ambition, and wanted, if the expression may be allowed, those dark shades of character which make men the heroes of history. Hence it is, probably, that our writers have bestowed so little attention on this admirable person, who is but slightly mentioned in most historical collections, unless with regard to his disputes with Leicester, whom he hated almost to a fault. His letters, which I esteem myself most fortunate in being the instrument of disclosing, form a very valuable part of this collection, and, except a very few, are the only ones to be met with in print. I trust they will acquit me of extravagance in the slight view I have here given of his character.

His first public service was in an honourable embassy to the Emperor Charles V. to treat of the projected marriage of Queen Mary to Philip, which he afterwards ratified with the latter in Spain. Upon his return he was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, and Chief Justice of the Forests north of Trent. The order of the Garter, and the office of Captain of the Pensioners, were likewise conferred on him in that reign, a little before the conclusion of which he succeeded to his father's honours. Elizabeth continued him for awhile in the post of Lord Deputy, and recalled him to assume that of President of the North, a situation rendered infinitely difficult by the delicacy of her affairs with Scotland, and the rebellious spirit of the border counties. The latter, however, was subdued by his prudence and bravery in 1569; and the assiduity and acuteness with which he studied the former will appear from his own pen. The unfortunate affair of the Duke of Norfolk, to whom he was most firmly attached, fell out in the course of that year, and would have ended happily and honourably had the Duke followed his advice. That nobleman's last request was that his best George, Chain, and Garter, might be given to my Lord of Sussex. He was the prime negotiator in those two famous treaties of marriage with the Archduke Charles, and the Duke of Alençon, Elizabeth's real intentions in which have been so frequently the subject of historical disquisition. Other letters on these occasions, written by him to that Princess with much freedom, will appear here, and may tend to throw some light on those political mysteries. In 1572 he retired from the severer labours of the public service, in which he had wasted his health, to the honourable office of Lord Chamberlain, and the duties of a Cabinet Minister; and died at his house in Bermondsey, June 9th, 1583, leaving little to his heirs but the bright example of a character truly noble. The Earl of Sussex was twice married: first, to Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Wriothealey, Earl of Southampton, by whom he had two sons, Henry and Thomas, who died

No. XXIX.

(Cecil Papers.)

FRAGMENT.

THE EARL OF SUSSEX TO THE QUEEN.

—SINCE the writing of my other letters, upon the resolution of the Emperor and the Archduke, I took occasion to go to the Archduke, meaning to sound him to the bottom in all causes, and to feel whether such matter as he had uttered to me before (contained in my other letters) proceeded from him *bona fide*, or were but words of form. At my coming his Highness willed me to go with him into his bed-chamber, where, the doors shut and no person present, we had long talk, the effect whereof I will recite to your Majesty as near as I can.

After some ordinary speech, used to minister occasion, I began after this sort: Sir, I see it is a great matter to deal in the marriage of Princes; and therefore it is convenient for me, that, by the Queen my mistress' order, intermeddle in this negotiation, to foresee that I neither deceive you, be deceived myself, nor, by my ignorance, be the cause that she be deceived; in respect whereof I beseech your Highness to give me leave to treat as frankly with you in all things now I am here, as it pleased her Majesty to give me leave to deal

young: secondly, to Francis, daughter to Sir William Sydney, afterwards the celebrated foundress of Sydney-Sussex College, in Cambridge; by whom having no children, he was succeeded by Henry, his next brother.

with her before my coming thence ; whereby I may be as well assured of your disposition, upon your assured word, as I was of her's, upon her word, and so proceed in all things thereafter. Whereunto his Highness answered me that he thanked me for that kind of dealing, and he would truly utter to me what he thought and meant in all things that I should demand ; which, upon his word, he willed me to credit, and I should not be abused myself, nor abuse your Majesty. I then said that (your license granted) I was bold humbly to beseech your Majesty to let me understand your inward disposition in this cause ; and whether you meant a lingering entertaining of the matter, or a direct proceeding to bring it to a good end, with a determination to consummate the marriage if conveniently you might ; whereupon your Majesty not only used such speeches to me as did satisfy me of your plain and good meaning to proceed in this matter without delay, if by convenient means you might, but also gave me in commission to affirm upon your word, to the Emperor, that you had resolved to marry. You were free to marry where it should please God to put it into your heart to like ; and you had given no grateful ear to any motion of marriage but to this, although you had received sundry great offers from others ; and therefore your Majesty, by your letters, and I by your commandment, had desired of his Majesty some determinate resolution whereby the matter might one way or other grow to an end with both your Honours ; the like whereof I had also said

to his Highness before, and did now repeat it. And, for that his Highness had given me the like license, I would be as bold with him as I had been with your Majesty ; and therefore beseeched him to let me, upon his honour, understand whether he earnestly desired, for love of your person, the good success and end of this cause, and had determined in his heart upon this marriage ; or else, to satisfy others that procured him thereto, was content to entertain the matter, and cared not what became thereof ; that I also might deal thereafter ; for in the one I would serve your Majesty and him truly, and in the other, I was no person of quality to be a convenient minister.

His Highness answered, Count, I have heard by the Emperor of the order of your dealing with him, and I have had dealings with you myself, wherewith he and I rest very well contented, but truly I never rested more contented of any thing than I do of this dealing ; wherein, besides your duty to her that hath trusted you, you shew what you are yourself, for the which I honour you as you are worthy (pardon me, I beseech your Majesty, in writing the words he spake of myself, for they serve to utter his natural disposition, and inclination), and although I have always had a good hope of the Queen's honourable dealing in this matter, yet have I heard so much of her not meaning to marry, as might give me cause to suspect the worst ; but, understanding by the Emperor of your manner of dealing with him, perceiving that I do presently by your words, I think myself bound

mony, you temporise until you see on which side your lot will fall ; and if you find you shall settle in this marriage, you will, when you are sure thereof, discover what you are. If this be true, trust me, sir, I beseech you, I will not betray you, and let me know the secret of your heart, whereby you may grow to a shorter end of your desire ; and as I will upon my oath assure you I will never utter your counsel to any person living, but to the Queen my mistress, so do I deliver unto you her promise upon her honour not to utter it to any person without your consent ; and, if you will not trust me herein, commit it to her Majesty's trust by your own letters, or messenger of trust, and she will not deceive you.

Surely, said his Highness, whosoever has said this of me to the Queen's Majesty, or to you, or to any other, hath said more than he knoweth ; God grant he meant well therein. My ancestors have always holden this religion that I hold, and I never knew other, and therefore I never could have mind hitherto to change ; and I trust, when her Majesty shall consider my case well, my determination herein shall not hurt me towards her in this cause. For, Count, said he, how could you with reason give me counsel to be the first of my race that so suddenly should change the religion that all my ancestors have so long holden, when I know no other ; or how can the Queen like of me in any other thing, that should be so light in changing of my conscience ? Where, on the other side, in knowing my duty constantly to God for

No. XXX.

(Cecil Papers.)

THE EARL OF SUSSEX TO-----

My good Lord,

ALTHOUGH the burden the Queen's Majesty lays now upon me is greater than I may well bear, yet, if I were assured my doings should be well backed there, I durst be the bolder to venture upon my credit here; but when I remember who work in this vineyard* I can hardly hope of a good wine year; and then see the more I go on credit the greater is my loss. Nevertheless I will do my part while I am here, and leave the rest to God, who knoweth my true travail herein; and if it shall please him to put into my dear mistress's heart to divide the weeds from the grain, I hope to sow such seed here as she may, if she will, make a happy harvest there. I write the less, because I hope to see you shortly. In the mean time assure yourself I will so employ myself here as I will return with as much honour and contentation to her as the matter may suffer. And so, with my hearty commendations to my good Lady, I wish to you both as to myself.

From Vienna, the 10th of January, 1567.

Your Lordship's assured Friend,

T. SUSSEX.

* Probably hinting at Leicester's opposition to the Queen's marriage.

wickedness, admitted to the Crown, Hamilton, upon his death, should succeed ; which as Murray's faction utterly detest, so, after her public defamation, they dare not (to avoid Hamilton) receive her again for fear of revenge. And, therefore, to avoid these great perils they surely intend (so far as by any means I can discover) to labour a composition ; wherein Lydington was a dealer here ; hath by means dealt with the Scottish Queen, and will also, I think, deal there ; and to that end, I believe you shall shortly hear of Melvil * there, who, I think, is the instrument between Murray, Lydington, and their Queen, to work this composition ; whereunto I think surely both parties do incline, although diversely affected for private respects.

The Earl of Murray and his faction work that their Queen would now willingly surrender to her son, after the example of Navarre, and procure the confirming of the regency in Murray ; and therewith admit Hamilton and his faction to place of council according to their states ; and to remain in England herself, with her dowry of France, whereunto I think they would also add a portion out of Scotland. And if she would agree to this, I think they would not only forbear to touch her in honour, but also deliver to her all matters that they have to charge her, and denounce her clear by parliament ; and therewith put her in hope, not

* Sir Robert Melvil, brother to the author of the Memoirs. He was much trusted by Mary at this time, and is suspected, perhaps unfairly, of having betrayed her.

only to receive her again to her royal estate if her son die, but also, upon some proof of the forgetting of her displeasure, to procure in short time that she may be restored in her son's life, and he to give place to her for her life ; and if she will not surrender, it is thought Murray will allow of her restitution, and abode in England, so as he may continue Regent. The Hamiltons seek that the young King's authority should be disannulled ; the hurts done on either side recompeused ; and the Queen restored to her crown, and to remain in Scotland. And yet, in respect of her misgovernment, they are contented that she should be governed by a council of the nobility of that realm, to be appointed here ; in which council there should be no superior in authority or place appointed, but that every nobleman should hold his place according to his state ; and that the Queen's Majesty should compound all differences from time to time, amongst them. And, to avoid difference and peril, their Queen should have certain houses of no force ; and a portion to maintain her estate. And the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dunbar, and other principal forts of the realm, to be delivered into the hands of upright noblemen, that leaned to no faction ; to be sworn to hold them in sort to be prescribed ; and that the whole nobility of Scotland should swear amity, and should testify the same under their hands and seals. And that the Queen's Majesty should take assurance for performance ; and have the bringing up of the young Prince in England, by nobility of England or Scot-

land, at her appointment. And so as this might take effect, I think they might easily be induced to consent their Queen should also remain in England, and have her dowry of France, and a portion out of Scotland, to maintain her state and her son's, in places to be appointed by the Queen's Majesty.

Thus do you see how these two factions for their private causes toss between them the crown and public affairs of Scotland, and how near they are to agree if their private causes were not; and care neither for the mother nor the child (as I think before God) but to serve their own turns. Neither will Murray like of any order whereby he should not be Regent styled; nor Hamilton of any order whereby he should not be as great, or greater, in government than Murray. So as the government is presently the matter, whatsoever they say was heretofore the cause; and, therefore, it will be good that we forget not our part in this tragedy.

The opinion for the title to the Crown, after the death of their Queen and her son, is diversely carried, as the parties are affected to these two factions. The Hamiltons affirm that the Duke of Chatelherault to be the next heir by the laws. The other faction say that the young King, by his coronation, and mother's surrender, is rightfully invested of the Crown of Scotland; whereby his next heir in blood is, by the laws, next heir also to the Crown; and thereby the Duke avoided. The fear of this device makes Hamilton to withstand

the King's title for the surety of his own, and the Regency of Murray in respect of his claim to be governor, as next heir to the Crown; for which causes it is likely Hamilton will hardly yield to the one or the other; and yet James Macgill,* an assured man to Morton, talks with me secretly of this matter, and (defending the right of the Earl of Lenox's son, as next heir in blood to the young King) confessed to me that he thought because it came by the mother it must return, by the law, to the mother's side, which was Hamilton; but it would put many men on horseback before it were performed; whereby you may see what leadeth in Scotland. There is some secret envy between Lydington and Macgill; and, as I think, if they agree not by the way, you will find Lydington wholly bent to composition, and Macgill, of himself, otherwise inclined. If the Queen's Majesty would assure their defence, you may deal with them both as you see cause.

Thus far of that I have gathered by them; wherein, if they do not alter, I am sure I do not err. And now, touching my opinion of the matter (not by way of advice, but as imparting to you what I conceive), I think surely no end can be made good for England except the person of the Scotch Queen be detained, by one means or other,

* James Macgill, Clerk of the Rolls (*Clericus Rotulorum Registrari*). He was sent to London soon after, accompanied by Lethington, to sue for Elizabeth's sanction to certain conditions which Murray had proposed for his own indemnification, in case he should proceed to the formal accusation to the Queen of Scots. It is well known that Elizabeth's refusal prevented any further proceedings.

in England. Of the two ends before written I think the first to be best in all respects for the Queen's Majesty, if Murray will produce such matter as the Queen's Majesty may, by virtue of her superiority over Scotland, find judicially the Scotch Queen guilty of the murder of her husband, and therewith detain her in England, at the charges of Scotland, and allow of the crowning of the young King, and Regency of Murray. Whereunto if Hamilton will submit himself, it were well done, for avoiding his dependency upon France, to receive him, with provision for indemnity of his title ; and if he will not, then to assist Murray to prosecute him and his adherents by confiscation, &c. If this will not fall out sufficiently (as I doubt it will not) to determine judicially, if she deny her letters ; then surely I think it best to proceed by composition, without show of any meaning to proceed to trial ; and herein as it shall be the surest way for the Queen's Majesty to procure the Scotch Queen to surrender, &c., if that may be brought to pass, so, if she will by no means be induced to surrender, and will not end except she may be in some degree restored, then I think it fit to consider therein these matters following.

First, to provide for her and her son to remain in England at the charges of Scotland.

Secondly, to maintain in strength and authority Murray's faction, as much as may be, so as they oppress not unjustly Hamilton.

Thirdly, to compound the causes between Mur-

From York, the 22nd of October, 1568.

Yours, most assured,

T. SUSSEX.

No. XXXII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. E. fol. 221.)

— TO THE COUNTESS OF SHREWSBURY.

(Signature torn off.)

My most humble duty remembered unto your honourable good Ladyship. If it were not for my bounden duty's sake I would be loth to write, because there is so small certainty in occurrences ; but (seeing I am bound to write) it is but small that I see with my own eyes that is worth writing, and therefore I am forced to supply by that I do bear ; which I write as I hear by credible report, otherwise I should not write at all ; and therefore if I do err it is pardonable. The news is here that my Lord your husband is sworn of the Privy Council ; and that the Scottish Queen is on her journey to Tutbury, something against her will, and will be under my Lord's custody there.*

estimable curiosity. It may be proper to observe here that Mary had been for some months a prisoner in England (*see the next letter*), and that the Earl of Sussex was one of the Commissioners now sitting at York for the judicial investigation of the charges brought against her by Murray.

* Mary's remarkable escape from Lochleven Castle, the decisive battle of Langside, and her flight into England, happened within the space of one fortnight. She arrived at Carlisle on the 16th of May, and was soon after waited on, with great respect, by Lord Scroop and Sir Francis Knollys, who remained as spies about her person till Elizabeth had determined how to dispose of her. At length the unjust expedient of imprisonment was

before they are paid their due. The saying is that now the new King of Sweden and the King of Denmark being friends, they have set out the Duke of Holstein, with a good power of such soldiers, both horsemen and footmen, as they may well spare in both their realms in time of peace, to the number of 6000 horsemen, and 20,000 footmen, to aid the Prince of Orange; which is affirmed by such credible persons as come thence. I do hear that Mr. Gorge is come out of Hungary, and, passing by Flanders, was taken prisoner, and put to his ransom, if it fall out war. Mr. Arthur Hall * is also returned from Constantinople.

In France there is a great stir to let the Prince of Condé † to join with the Prince of Orange;‡ so that the King divides his force, the Duke of Anjou § to stop the passage of the Prince of Condé, and the King is making power against the Prince

* A Lincolnshire gentleman of very ancient family, and member for Grantham, in that county. He translated the ten first books of the Iliad from the French of Hugues de Salel, Abbé de St. Cheron, which translation was published in London in quarto, "imprinted by Ralph Newberie, 1581." It is a book of extreme rarity.

† In other words "to prevent him from joining, &c."—This was the first Lewis, Prince of Condé, who headed the Huguenot party, now in actual rebellion. He was killed at the battle of Jarnac, March 13th, in the following year.

‡ William, Prince of Orange, and Count of Nassau; the first of that family who rendered himself eminent in the Netherlands. The emancipation of those provinces from the Spanish yoke was almost entirely owing to this nobleman's wisdom and bravery. He was assassinated in his palace at Delft, July 10th, 1584.

§ The Duke of Anjou, next brother to Charles IX., afterwards King of France by the title of Henry III.

of Orange and the Duke of Sweeburgh,* which he already joined on Monday was fortnight. The King is much troubled in appointing his General against the Prince of Orange ; for the Duke of Alva offers the King great aid and friendship if he will make Duke d'Aumale † his General, and the four Marshals of France do resist it ; insomuch as Monsieur Montmorency, ‡ the chief of the four, standeth upon his guard in the Duke of Anjou's camp, and Damville, his brother, another of the four, standeth of his guard in the King's camp (who, by right, ought to have the leading of the army, but, because they are cousin-germans to the Admiral, they are mistrusted and denied the place) which seems to be no small discontent to the King. There came a post out of France of Saturday last, and another of Monday, and another of Wednesday ; by him of Saturday, it is reported he brought word that the Prince of Condé had sent the Great Master of the Horse to the King with this message and covenants of peace ; that is to say, if he would deliver his mother into their hands ; to banish the house of Guise quite out of France ; and to permit and publish through the dominions of all France the religion, &c., on this condition he

* Or Deux Ponts. Sometimes styled in these papers, " Duke of Byponts ;" and in one place, " Duke of Two Bridges." He died near Limoges in June following.

† Claud de Lorrain, Duke of Aumale, fourth brother to the Duke of Guise.

‡ Francis, son of the great Anne de Montmorency, Constable of France, who had been killed the preceding year at the battle of St. Denis.

was contented to hearken to peace ; for that he is, and ever has been, more inclined to peace than to war, if he could by any reasonable means obtain it (which hitherto he could never obtain), for he never was desirous to revenge any private injuries, or at this present requireth, but God's quarrel, and the public weal ; and, therefore, if the King refuse this offer of peace, he will, God permitting, come to Paris before the last day of March next, and reason the matter in the great palace in Paris, with 30,000 horsemen, and 60,000 footmen ; but what message the King returned again I do not hear, nor what the post brought to the Court of Monday and yesterday ; but there are bruits here that both Queen Mother, and the Cardinal of Lorraine be both taken in the same trap that they thought to have taken the Prince of Condé and the Admiral with ; if this be true it will be certainly known by my next letters.

And thus God long preserve my Lord and your good Ladyship, and send that the liar's son's marriage take no place, that the wrath of God fall not on the house of Shrewsbury by the same, as the like hath fallen on other noble houses, that can never be withdrawn, to their utter spoil ; for the iniquity of that caterpiller his father cannot be chosen but to light on his issue ; for if my Lord marry with him his Lordship must maintain all the wrongs that he hath committed : for that he hath orderly and justly gotten is a small portion for such a noble lady, seeing he is not like to increase it by either policy, wit, or virtue, or any other good

quality, but only by fortune, which is but a small certainty to trust unto.

I hear Mr. Haynes doth use me friendly in very good words to my friends ; it is for your Ladyship's sake, and therefore I trust your Ladyship will not forget him with your thanks, as occasion may serve. And so eftsoons Jesus preserve you, and send my cousin Frances a good hour, and your honour a glad grandmother.

Scribbled at London, the of January,
1568.

*To the right honourable the Countess of Shropshire.
this, at Tutbury or where.*

No. XXXIII.

(Howard Papers.)

SIR WILLIAM CECIL TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

It may please your Lordship,
BECAUSE I think some others will advertise thither, perchance without your knowledge, of the news out of France, I have thought good, for your better satisfaction, to send you a copy of that which is taken to be of most credit, until we may hear directly from the Admiral, or from his camp, of the truth how things have passed for their part, for all that we hear hitherto comes from the Court, or from Paris ; and when I shall hear any further particularity from the Prince of Navarre's camp, I will not fail but advertise you. I do send to your Lordship herewith a letter from her Majesty to excuse your absence from St. George's day.

I perceive her Majesty could be well content that the Bishop of Ross * were out of that country ; and for the present she hath commanded me to write to your Lordship to let him have some lodging provided for him in the town of Tutbury ; which if he will not receive without resorting to Burton, † upon knowledge thereof her Majesty means that he shall be ordered to depart the realm. Of the matters of Scotland her Majesty would be glad to understand how the Queen doth digest them ; and how they will pass now at this Easter, which is the time appointed to have them treated upon, I do not know, but as soon as I understand any thing thereof I will give your Lordship advertisement.

Immediately after the holidays I trust to procure warrant for some impress of money for your Lordship, for the charge of that diet, which at the writing hereof I could not expedite. And so I humbly take my leave of your Lordship with my humble commendations to your Lordship and my very good Lady.

* John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, the author of the defence of Mary's honour, in answer to Buchanan. He had been many years in England, with the title of the Scottish Ambassador, and was Mary's firmest friend. He was a proud and resolute man, busily engaged in all the intrigues of her party ; and upon the discovery of Ridolphi's plot (*see following papers*) was committed to the Tower of London, whence, after two years' imprisonment, he was sent out of England, and died at Brussels in 1596.

† Burton upon Trent ; whence, being at some little distance from Tutbury, it was probably mistrusted that he might more easily correspond with the Queen of Scots than while residing in the latter town, the inhabitants of which were in a manner the Earl's vassals.

At Westminster, the 9th of April, 1569.

Your Lordship's humbly at commandment,

W. CECIL.

*To the right honourable my very good Lord
the Earl of Shrewsbury, &c.*

No. XXXIV.

(Howard Papers.)

SIR WILLIAM CECIL TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

It may please your good Lordship,

THE Bishop of Ross came hither four days past, utterly unlooked for until that Queen had received answer out of Scotland ; and now, yesterday, came Sandy Bogg ; whereupon the Bishop has had large talk with the Queen's Majesty yesternight. As concerning the resort of Sir John Zouche, for matters of the country, to your Lordship, I do not think but he may repair, and confer with your Lordship. But the Queen's Majesty hath of late said in the matter wherein she was offended with Seymour and Rolston, that she had charged you to suffer no person, being a stranger, to come to the presence and speech of the Queen. Whereupon I said to her Majesty that it was hard for you to command men to depart out of your house when they should come to speak with your Lordship, and she said that she had warned your Lordship thereof, that if any should have cause to speak with you, you might appoint some place to confer with them, without permitting them to have the sight or presence of the Queen's Majesty. I do report her Majesty's very words to your Lordship,

to which I answered that I was very well assured that whatsoever your Lordship took to be her mind you would perform it.

We hear now from Rochelle that when the Prince of Condé was slain there was no more of any value slain but Captain Stuart, and one Chastiller ; and that in all, on both sides, were not slain 400, whereof was more on the King's side ; and that the Prince of Navarre is declared the head ; and that their army is both stronger and better ordered than before ; and some overtures are made to the Admiral of peace, which I wish heartily, to the good pleasure of Almighty God. The French King is returning to Rheims. The Duke of By-
pont's army is in Burgundy, so strong as Mons. d'Aumale cannot stay his marching. My hearty commendations to your good Lordship and my Lady done, I end, 29th April, 1569.

Your Lordship's at command,

W. CECIL.

*To the right honourable my very good Lord
the Earl of Shrewsbury.*

No. XXXV.

(Howard Papers.)

SIR WILLIAM CECIL TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

It may please your good Lordship,
YESTERDAY the Bishop of Ross gave me your Lordship's letters, containing the recovery of the Queen of Scots' health upon the peril wherein she was by receiving certain pills. Her Majesty, having knowledge by report of Mr. Candish of the

to your Lordship, though my leisure, as he says, is small. And so, with my humble commendations to your Lordship and my Lady, I end.

At Greenwich, the 15th of May, 1569.

Your Lordship's humbly at command,

W. CECIL.

The Queen's Majesty, whilst I was folding up my letter, hath willed me to notify to your Lordship how well she allows of your preciseness in that you willed Mr. Candish not to resort any more thither without warrant hence; nevertheless her Majesty finds cause to allow so well of the gentleman, as she is content that your Lordship may use him as your Lordship is wont to do. Order is given to Carlisle to put to full liberty the Queen of Scots' servants; and surely the Deputy Warden doth it of some error, for on my faith I know not of any direction given him therein, and so I pray your Lordship to assure the Queen of Scots.

*To the right honourable my very good Lord
the Earl of Shrewsbury, Knight of the
Order, &c.*

No. XXXVI.

(Cecil Papers.)

THE EARL OF SUSSEX TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

Good Mr. Secretary,

I AM sorry from the bottom of my heart to conceive, by the end of your letter which I received this morning, that my Lord of Norfolk and you should stand in worse terms of amity than you in

shall be the better served, and every of yourselves, in your own particular, the more honoured, loved, and esteemed. When I remember what you both are, I cannot conceive that by any possibility the one of you would willingly do any fact whereby the other might have just cause to conceive offence ; and then I certainly think the mistrust, on either side, must grow by sinister reports ; wherein there is no remedy so good as to discover the untruth in the beginning. Therefore, good Mr. Secretary, seeing God hath dealt so liberally to you his gifts of patience, wisdom, and other virtues, I exhort you, *in visceribus Domini nostri Jesu Christi*, that you will plainly and fully rip up this matter from the bottom with the Duke himself, in whom you know you shall find honour, truth, wisdom, and plainness ; and as I trust by this dealing there shall need no third person to interpose, so if I knew a need thereof, I would leave all other matters, and, upon some feigned cause, ride post to London, yea to Jerusalem, to do the good I desire therein ; and surely I think it presently to be one of my greatest misfortunes to be absent in such a time ; and so I end, and wish unto you as to myself.

From York, the 15th of May, 1569.

Your's assuredly,

T. SUSSEX.

No. XXXVII.

(Cecil Papers.)

THE EARL OF SUSSEX TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

I AM heartily glad, good Mr. Secretary, to perceive by your letters of the 30th of the last, and by my Lord of Norfolk's of the 31st, the good and hearty reconcilement between you, which I trust shall long continue; and your faithful promises of love and trust, made on both sides, shall I hope remain so sure as no practisers by evil offices shall undermine any of you. His Grace writeth very frankly of the assured trust and confidence he reposes in your good will; and surely I was very glad to receive knowledge thereof, not only in respect of you both, whom I protest I have loved, do love, and will love, better than any two other subjects in the realm, but also, and principally, for the service of our good Queen, whose surety and honour I weigh above all other things in the world, and hath been, is, and must be, chiefly supported by you two, whom the world hath always judged to be void of private motives, and to respect only her, and the realm, in all your actions. In respect whereof a great number of honourable and wise, in all parts of the realm, will gladly, and of good conscience, aid, assist, and set forth, all your intents and doings, by all the good means they may, for the more honour and surety, and the better service of her Majesty. And if the ground whereupon they build their actions (which is your amities, and knitting together in the true service

of her Majesty, and the realm) should fail, although their zeals should remain good, yet their exertions, for lack of such maintenance, should take small effect ; and, therefore, I will end this matter with the old proverb, *valeant qui inter vos dissidium velint* ; and betake you to the Almighty, who guide you with the same spirit that he hath ever done.

From Cawood, the 9th of June, 1569.

Your's assuredly,

T. SUSSEX.

No. XXXVIII.

(Howard Papers.)

SIR WILLIAM CECIL TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

It may please your Lordship,

I CANNOT but, according to my duty which I do bear you, advertise your Lordship of things necessarily belonging unto you. The Queen's Majesty, hearing doubtfully of uncertain reports that you should be, or would shortly, depart to the baths at Buxton, demanded of me what I heard thereof from your Lordship ; whereunto I could not make any certain answer but in this sort—that I knew (as indeed I did by Mr. Bacon and your Secretary) that you were earnestly advised of your physicians to go thither for the recovery of your health ; and, therefore, I thought if you were gone thither, necessity compelled you ; and yet I was assured in so doing you had left a substantial order for attendance upon the Queen of Scots, as should be both honourable and sure. Whereupon I found her

Majesty somewhat troubled what to think hereof; and therefore, as in a cause uncertain, she commanded me to send some person expressly with speed to understand the very truth hereof, and therewith to give your Lordship my poor advice, that if you were not departed to Buxton, you would stay that journey until knowledge had from her Majesty; and if you were gone (which she said she would hardly believe) then I should seek to understand what order your Lordship had left for attendance upon the said Queen, and that yourself should not be long absent thence; which her Majesty said she did as much esteem for her own honour, to have the Queen of Scots to be honourably attended, as for any matter of surety.

And thus, being directed by her Majesty's earnest speech with me, I am bold to write to your Lordship in this manner; praying you to take the same according to my good meaning; assuring your Lordship that divers do think it very strange, if it be true, that you have departed to Buxton without making the Queen's Majesty privy thereto, and somewhat the more (if it be true that is also said) that my Lady of Shrewsbury should be also gone thither with your Lordship. And so, having occasion to send away the bearer hereof, Robert Gascoigne, the Queen's Majesty's servant, I humbly take my leave.

From Farnham Castle, the 14th of August,
1569.

Your Lordship's humbly at commandment,
W. CECIL.

No. XXXIX.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. P. fol. 543.)

THE EARL OF LEICESTER AND SIR WILLIAM CECIL
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

AFTER our hearty commendations to your good Lordship. Upon motion made to the Queen's Majesty, by reason of your letters written to me William Cecil, for licensing of you to remove the Queen of Scots to your Lordship's house at Sheffield, her Majesty has willed us both to write unto you, that as she was contented therewith, upou such necessity as you had expressed in your letter, so would she have you warned that you should foresee that in the removing of the said Queen there should no open pomp be used, nor assembly of strangers, but to be done circumspectly and quietly.

Her Majesty also, by her words, seemed to be informed that your Lordship and the Lady your wife should permit all persons coming to either of you to have resort to the Queen of Scots' presence ; whereof, for our own part, we answered that we heard of no such thing ; but thought your Lordship did observe such orders as had been prescribed to you by her Majesty ; and thought, also, that the Queen of Scots did so much esteem her favour as she would not attempt any thing to discontent her Majesty. And so we take our leave of your Lordship, being glad to hear of your good amendment, and wish you continuance thereof.

From Basing, the 29th of August, 1569.

Your Lordship's assured loving friends,

R. LEICESTER.

W. CECIL.

*To the right honourable our very good Lord
the Earl of Shrewsbury.*

No. XL.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. E. fol. 229.)

THE QUEEN TO THE EARL OF HUNTINGDON.

RIGHT trusty and right well-beloved cousin, we greet you well. Where we understand that our cousin of Shrewsbury is much troubled with sickness, and like to fall further into the same, in such sort as he neither presently is able, nor shall be, to continue in the charge which he has to keep the Queen of Scots, we have, for a present remedy, and to avoid the danger that might ensue, made choice of you to take the charge of the custody of her until we shall otherwise order: and therefore we earnestly require you with all speed to repair to our cousin of Scotland with some of your own trusty servants, and there to take the charge of the said Queen wherewith our said cousin will be so well content as we doubt not but you shall have all that he can command to be serviceable unto you. And though this direction of you may seem presently sudden and strange, for you to take charge of her in any other person's house than in your own, yet the infirmity of our said cousin, with the mistrust he hath of a greater, and the request he has made unto us to have some help in this cause, with other

causes that we have to doubt of some escape of the said Queen, moves us to use this speedy order; meaning, as soon as occasion may further permit, to devise either shortly to deliver you of this burthen wholly, or, at the least, to devise that she shall be removed to some other meeter place where you may have the whole commandment. We will have you also, after conference with our said cousin of Shrewsbury, to devise how the number of the Queen of Scotland's train might be diminished, and reduced only to thirty persons of all sorts, as was ordered, but, as we perceive, too much enlarged of late time. You shall, also, jointly with the Earl of Shrewsbury, give order that no such common resort be to the Queen as has been, nor that she have such liberty to send posts as she hath done, to the great burden of our poor subjects; and if she shall have any special cause to send to us, then you shall so permit her servant with the warrant of your hand, and none to come otherwise. And if you shall think of any meeter place to keep her, we require you to advertise us thereof, so as we may take order for the same.

We have written to our cousin of Shrewsbury, whom we have willed to impart to you the contents of our letter, and so we will have you to do these; trusting that you will so consider hereof as the cause requireth for our honour and quietness, without respect of any person.

Given under our signet at the manor of the Vine, the 22nd of September, 1569, the 11th year of our reign.

devise of a marriage with the Scottish Queen. For my part, I was not made privy thereof but of late ; and, so as it might have been allowed to the Queen's Majesty, I had no particular respect to lead me one way or other, for my only scope is to serve God and her Majesty. And so I take my leave.

From the Vine, 22nd of September, 1569.

Your Lordship's humbly at command,

W. CECIL.

*To the right honourable the Earl of Shrewsbury,
my singular good Lord.*

No. XLII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. E. fol. 225.)

THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY TO
SIR WILLIAM CECIL.*

Good Mr. Secretary,

I HAVE received the Queen's Majesty's letters of the 25th of this present, greatly to my comfort, for that there appears her gracious good opinion of us, which, with a faithful heart, and a true meaning, I will answer to my power during life, and that with the shedding of my blood when occasion shall require. And, perceiving by your letters which came therewith that her Majesty thinks I was moved by some servant or friend of mine that I should have no assistance, the very truth is I was never moved thereto by any creature ; my said motion came wholly of myself ; and it was

* Indorsed by the Earl, "The copy of a letter to Mr. Secretary, of mine own hand, this Michaelmas-day, 1569."

No. XLIII.

(Howard Papers.)

SIR WILLIAM CECIL TO
THE EARLS OF SHREWSBURY AND HUNTINGDON.

It may please your Lordships,
THE Queen's Majesty has read your letters of the 10th of this month, and perused also the other several letters sent out of Scotland to the Queen there from the Lord Herries and the rest. And as touching the Queen of Scots' answer: in refusing to let you have the letter which was demanded of her, being written by the Earls of Pembroke and Leicester,* or to agree that it might be otherwise obtained, as you required, her Majesty allows your manner of dealing, and misliketh her manner of answer, giving suspicion to her Majesty to think the worse of the whole matter, and so her Majesty has willed me to signify unto you. And in like manner her Majesty willeth you to continue her former commandment for the keeping of the Queen from all intelligence, at the least as much as you may, until she shall signify her further pleasure unto you in that behalf. And, touching the last matter in the letter; whereby you answer to the complaint made of the coming, with your folks, into the Queen's chamber with pistolets; her Majesty is therewith well satisfied, and wishes you

* These noblemen had for some time secretly corresponded with the Duke of Norfolk on the subject of his proposed marriage with the Queen of Scots, and had probably written to her on the same occasion.

should take occasion to speak thereof in your own defence to that Queen, as the truth of the cause may warrant you ; and this is the sum of her Majesty's answer, which she willed me to write unto you because she cannot herself well sign any letter, having been somewhat acrased, but now somewhat amended. And so I humbly take my leave of your Lordship.

From Windsor, the 13th of October, 1569.

Your Lordship's humbly at commandment,

W. CECIL.

My Lords, it may be that you have or shall hear of a fond rumour stirred up on the 6th of this month in the North Riding, and the Bishoprick, of a rising should be ; but it was a vain smoke, without any spark of any account.

*To the right honourable my very good
Lords the Earls of Shrewsbury and
Huntingdon.*

No. XLIV.

(Howard Papers.)

SIR WILLIAM CECIL

TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

It may please your honourable good Lord to receive my humble command, and like thanks for your letter, written all with your own hand ; which surely did so well like me, for the earnestness, the wisdom, and faithfulness in the same, as I could not but show it to her Majesty, as a manifest testi-

mony and confirmation of that honourable nature which always I found in your Lordship. And truly my good Lord, you do bestow your good will fruitfully in her Majesty's service, for certainly I know not how she can have a better opinion of any nobleman in her realm ; and howsoever her letters or messages to your Lordship, or to my good Lady your wife, may import some other sense, surely they proceed not of any evil judgment towards any of you ; but sometimes, when she heareth this or that, she suddenly is moved to send or write more upon some inward care she has for the surety of that Queen than for any mistrust any wise : wherefore, good my Lord, both by yourself and by my Lady (who may more colourably frequent the said Queen's company than you) use all manner of circumspection to avoid secret practises. And so I humbly commend myself to your good Lordship, and also to my Lady.

From Windsor Castle, the 4th of November,
1569.

Your Lordship's at commandment,

W. CECIL.

No. XLV.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. P. fol. 553.)

THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY TO
THE MARQUIS OF WINCHESTER AND SIR
WALTER MILDMAY.

It may please you to understand that whereas
I have had a certain ordinary allowance of wine,

No. XLVI.

(Cecil Papers.)

SIR HENRY GATES AND SIR WILLIAM DRURY
TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

IT may please your good Lordship to be advertised that upon Thursday in the forenoon of the 19th of this instant we repaired to Stirling, where the Regent was; who did not only cause Mr. Justice Clerk, with other gentlemen, to accompany us thither from Edinburgh, but also sent his steward two or three miles on this side Stirling, to meet, and bring us to alight at the castle, and there to dine with his Grace; which we did accordingly, himself meeting us in the lower end of the hall, with very courteous words, and friendly embracing us. And there presently I did deliver unto him the Queen's Majesty's letter; after the reading whereof I declared to his Grace not only the Queen's Majesty's thankful acceptation of his great good will towards her Highness' quietness, in pursuing her rebels (with commendation of his readiness, so speedily, in person, with so good force, to prevent the peril that might otherwise endanger the quietness of the realm of Scotland)

to a mistake in the former; for the word Apothecary, from the Greek *Ἄποθήκη*, *Repositorium*, is applicable to any shopkeeper, or warehouseman, and was probably once used in that general sense. It seems however to have been confounded, by a modern corruption, with the very apt term *Poticary*, or *Potecar* (see *papers of March 24, and April 4, 1553; and of Jan. 25, 1581, &c.*) now only in use among the common people; which, being no doubt derived from *Ποτίκεω*, *adhiceo*, might very properly signify the person who *applied*, or *administered*, the medicines ordered by the physician.

be great let to the obtaining of the rest of the rebels, but he assured us that he would therein both do the best he could to have them, and also we should receive some certain knowledge, as well where they are, as answer to our demands, upon conference had with the Lords above named;* and, therefore, I do stay the delivery of the Queen's Majesty's second letter until that time, because we have no certain answer upon the first, he being accompanied at that point with none of the nobility, save the Earl of Mar. His Grace is not a little troubled about the doings of Dunbar-ton,† which falleth out like a quotidian ague, so that we fear without extremity he shall hardly obtain it. And having no further matter as yet, we defer to write unto the Queen's Majesty, and leave to your good Lordship to advertise of our doings, as may seem best to your honour in this behalf. And so we commit your good Lordship to the Almighty.

* The Earl of Northumberland (*see No. XLI. in the last reign*) one of the lately-suppressed insurgents in the North, fled into Scotland immediately after their defeat, and was now in a sort of captivity at Lochleven Castle. We here find Murray, whose character, with the worst kind of ambition, certainly united many noble qualities, artfully evading Elizabeth's ungenerous demand of the surrender of his prisoner. Murray, however, was assassinated three days after the date of this letter; and Northumberland was basely sold to Lord Hunsdon in 1572, by the Regent Morton, who had formerly received great favours from him; and was soon after beheaded at York.

† Dunbarton Castle, a fortress deemed impregnable, which had been held for Mary ever since the beginning of the civil wars. It was taken by surprise early in the next year, by a Captain Crawford, of Jordan Hill, whose admirable conduct in the exploit is related at length by Dr. Robertson.

From Lythcoo, the 20th of January, 1569.
 Your good Lordship's most humble, always to
 command,

HENRY GATES.*
 WILLIAM DRURY.†

* Sir Henry Gate, or Gates, Knight, a member of the Council in the North ; third son of Sir Geoffrey Gate, of Highestre, and other places in Essex, where the family had great landed property, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Clopton. He married Lucy, daughter of Thomas Knevet, eldest son of Sir Charles Knevet ; by whom he had three sons : Edward, ancestor of the Gates of Buttercrambe, in Yorkshire ; John ; and Henry, who, marrying Elizabeth, daughter of Nicholas Robertson, of Boston, in Lincolnshire, settled at Gosberton, in that county. Sir Henry Gate was taken prisoner with Lady Jane Grey's unfortunate adherents in the beginning of the preceding reign ; and, after the execution of his elder brother, Sir John, who the Duke of Northumberland accused as the projector of their wild enterprize, obtained a pardon, and retired to Seymer, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, where he had acquired a considerable estate. He was living in 1577.

† Sir William Drury, Knight, eldest son of Sir Robert Drury, of Edgerley, in Buckinghamshire (descended from an ancient family at Halstead in Suffolk) by Elizabeth, daughter and sole heir of Edmund Brudenel. This gentleman, who had served almost from his childhood in the French wars of the three preceding reigns, was reputed a person of the strictest rectitude of private conduct, as well as a brave and active soldier. He had lately been appointed Marshal of Berwick ; and it appears from this letter, for it is not mentioned in history, that he was at this time joined with Sir Henry Gate in a sort of embassy to the Regent Murray. In the following spring he led a powerful body of troops into Scotland, to the assistance of what was called the King's party, and opened the way for the Earl of Lennox's return, and election to the vacant regency ; and in 1573 commanded the English forces at the siege of Edinburgh Castle. The civil wars being concluded by the reduction of that fortress, he was removed to Ireland, and in 1575 was appointed President of Munster, his excellent conduct in which office is the subject of many letters from Sir Henry Sydney, in Collins's collection. He succeeded that gentleman in the post of Lord Deputy, and died at Waterford, in October, in 1579, within one year after his appointment. Sir William Drury married Margaret, daughter of Thomas Lord

No. XLVII.

(Cecil Papers.*)

LORD HUNSDON TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

My very good Lord,

I HAVE received your letter of the 20th and the 21st on the same day; by the which I do perceive that the Queen's Majesty hath written to your Lordship for the discharge of the garrisons left upon the frontiers, as also the 300 shot left by my Lord Admiral; and find that her Majesty, and the council is persuaded that the Wardens, with the garrisons here, are able not only to withstand any attempt made against England, but also to join with the Regent to invade Scotland, if occasion serve. My Lord, I am sorry to see her Majesty's purse more accounted of than either her honour or the present necessity of her service at this time. Touching the lying of any garrison upon the borders, it is not needful, for any thing I see, for the defence of any enemy: but if her Majesty, or the Council, think us any way able to invade Scotland, they are very much deceived; and, knowing these countries so well as some of them ought to do, I marvel how they are so much abused. For this town, the garrison of footmen is only 500; whereof many old men, and many maimed in ser-

Wentworth, and widow of John, the last Lord Williams of Thame, and had issue by her three daughters; Jane, married to Sir Richard Chetwode, of Oxfordshire, Knight; Elizabeth, who died unmarried; and Anne, wife of Robert Hartwell, of in the county of Northampton.

Fuller, with his usual inaccuracy, tells us that Sir W D. died in 1598, and leads Lloyd into the same mistake.

her Majesty shall need to be at no further charges ; but if they be denied, as I think they will be, either her Majesty must sit with that dishonour (which I hope she will not) or else she must send a better force than her borders can yield her. I think the rest of the wardens will be of my opinion. Within these three days, at the farthest, I look to hear from Sir Henry Gate and Mr. Marshall, by whose answer her Majesty shall be able to judge of the sequel.

Thus have I sent your Lordship my opinion, which you may advertise up, if it please you, for I write of knowledge, and some proof; and so for this time I commit your Lordship to the Almighty.

From Berwick, this 22nd of January, 1569.

Your Lordship's to command,

H. HUNSDON.*

* Henry, only son of Henry Carey, a Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to Henry VIII. by Mary, daughter and co-heir of Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, and sister to the unfortunate Queen Anne. Elizabeth, who seems to have been sincerely attached to this gentleman, her near relation, and a person of the most unblemished integrity, created him Baron of Hunsdon in Hertfordshire, and gave him the noble mansion Hunsdon House, with its large demesne, in the first year of her reign. He was soon after appointed a Knight of the Garter, Captain of the Band of Pensioners, and a Privy Counsellor; and in 1567 was raised to the important posts of Warden of the East Marches, and Governor of Berwick, with the garrison belonging to which he performed the most essential services in the course of this rebellious year, 1569; first, by assisting Sussex against the Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, and afterwards by subduing, with his own troops only, the insurgents under Leonard Dacre. Having remained nearly twenty years on the borders, he was at length constituted Warden of all the Marches, and soon after succeeded the Earl of Lincoln as Lord Chamberlain of the Household, continuing, however, to hold his military offices. He was pitched upon by Elizabeth for the delicate task of pacifying the King of

the first, I perceive the Queen's Majesty has granted the custody of the goods and lands of Edward Dacres to my cousin Knevett, the custody whereof I had long before granted to my cousin George Carey ; and, if her Majesty shall command him to deliver over to my cousin Knevett, he is to obey to her Majesty's pleasure. He has sent twice into Cumberland for this matter, and I find that Edward Dacres has made states and deeds of gift, which Mr. Sadler and I have pursued ; and I fear will in law disappoint them both ; and yet I thought fit to let you know what had passed from me, which is to be ordered as shall please her Majesty. Touching the others, for Mr. Stanhope, I have already given general order to the Sheriff, according to her Majesty's pleasure, for delivery of all things according to the grants made by my Lords of Warwick, and Admiral ; whereof I have advertised you in former letters, which I trust shall satisfy her Majesty, and all others, how little soever I be satisfied myself, seeing her Majesty willed you to write to me to do that which (by her Majesty's own former letters to Sir Thomas Gargrave) was before directed to be done.

I was first a lieutenant ; I was after little better than a marshal ; I had then nothing left to me but to direct hanging matters (in the mean time all was disposed that was within my commission) and now I am offered to be made a Sheriff's bailiff to deliver over possessions. Blame me not, good Mr. Secretary, though my pen utter somewhat of that swell in my stomach, for I see I am kept but for a broom,

and when I have done my office to be thrown out of the door. I am the first nobleman that hath been thus used. True service deserves honour and credit, and not reproach and open defaming ; but, seeing the one is ever delivered to me instead of the other, I must leave to serve, or lose my honour ; which, being continued so long in my house, I would be loth should take blemish with me. These matters I know proceed not from lack of good and honourable meaning in the Queen's Majesty towards me, nor from lack of duty and truth in me towards her, which grieves me the more ; and, therefore, seeing I shall be still a camelion, and yield no other shew than as it shall please others to give the colour, I will content myself to live a private life. God send her Majesty others that mean as well as I have done ; and so I commit you to the Almighty.

From Darnton, the 23rd of January, 1569.

Your's assuredly,

T. SUSSEX.

No. XLIX.

(Cecil Papers.)

THE EARL OF SUSSEX TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

Sir,

WHERE it pleased you yesternight to declare to me some speeches used by the Queen's Majesty to you in secret, I thought fit rather to deliver the answer to you by writing, seeing I cannot this day come to you myself, than to deliver to the trust of any other that which you so friendly delivered to me.



Touching the Queen's opinion of my contentation ; at her late speech with me, which as I remember was yester se'nnight, it is true that upon the Queen's Majesty's earnest words of her honourable and favourable intent and meaning towards me I rested satisfied of her good opinion and favour towards me, because herself, with liberal words, uttered her opinion, which herself knew best; and yet, nevertheless, declared to her in plain words that though her Majesty's favourable speech had satisfied me for my own particular, in that I doubted of her good favour, yet the world, seeing contrary actions, would not be so satisfied ; and concluded that if this last service had not given a sufficient cause to testify to the world my truth to her Majesty, I thought I should never have the like occasion offered hereafter. Whereupon her Majesty directly answered that she would deal so with me as the world should see the trust and credit she committed to me ; and so ended with better words than I confess I have deserved : all which speeches I declared to my Lord of Leicester, and required his Lordship to be a mean to know of her Majesty what her pleasure was to do, whereby the world might see her credit towards me in some action ; for that I had often received good words, and never yet good deeds ; but, contrariwise, did find all my good services to be by sinister means depraved, and thereby the reward and honour to be cut from me. Since which time I do not know further of her Majesty's meaning than that her pleasure is to continue me in those offices wherein she did continue me when she had me in greatest sus-

picion, and did command me to remain upon them (as I was coming up by her license) which the world conceives was more for her present service than for any good affection towards me, and perhaps may conceive the like of my sending again in this sort.

Touching my promise to make declaration of my opinion how her Majesty might hereafter govern those parts, and defend and strengthen her borders with less charge, I have been, am, and will be, ready to perform the uttermost therein that I can do, whensoever her Majesty shall command me; which I promised by letters before my coming up, and have ever since been ready to accomplish, upon commandment. Touching my conceiving of her Majesty's favourable dealing with me in suspending of credit against me, notwithstanding the rebels did by their letters declare such manner of my protracting of time in her service as after fell out in execution; true it is that her Majesty told me that the rebels wrote such letters, but I never heard of them, saw them, nor knew of any such, otherwise than of her Majesty's declaration; neither did I, nor do, nor will confess, while I live, any protracting of time, or any lack of speedy execution of her service, so far as by any possibility I could. Lastly, touching my contention to go in this service; I told her Majesty, with very plain words, how great the service was, and how fit it was for her to use a person therein whom the world thought she credited better than she did me. And when she said she would shew to

the world how much she credited me ; and so as should be to my contention ; and therefore willed me to make me ready to go shortly ; I made courtesy, but I answered nothing ; and she sat down, and willed me to call one of the women ; and so I departed, and how I rested satisfied you and my Lord of Leicester do know.

I have written thus much, because, if the Queen's Majesty speak with you herein before I speak with you, it may please you, having this knowledge from me, to use by way of answer so much thereof as you shall think fit ; which I fully refer to your own wisdom.

Your's assuredly,

4 Marcii, 1569.

T. SUSSEX.

Received for land sold in Lancashire - - -	£ 4000
Received for my house sold at Saint Law- rence Poulney - - - - -	£ 1200
Received for land sold in Norfolk - - -	£ 1200
Received for land sold in Suffolk - - -	£ 2500
Received for wood-sales in divers places	£ 1500
Received for leases made in sundry coun- ties - - - - -	£ 2300
<hr/>	
	£ 12,700

I have besides this spent my whole revenues for twelve years in the Queen's Majesty's service, and to this hour I never received, directly or indirectly, any other benefit than was incident to the ordinary fees belonging to the offices of charge that were committed to me.

4 Marcii, 1569.

T. SUSSEX.

No. L.

(Cecil Papers.)

THE EARL OF SUSSEX TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

Sir,

I RECEIVED yesternight your letters of the 21st; and, perceiving thereby your desire to hear of some revenge made against the false Scots, I have sent you a note of the whole journey, whereby you shall see there has been no slackness to satisfy (as so short a time would permit) your expectation therein. And if great folly had not been in the carring away of the draught horses, I think the journey had been well knit up in the end by the taking of Hume Castle;* which, being by that accident deferred at that time, shall be, I trust, executed to-morrow, or on Thursday. The Lord of Cefforth, and all his friends, profess obedience to the King, and offer all service that way; and all the principal gentlemen of the Marsh depend on that side, and have in these matters refused Hume, so as he was not able, when I was in Teviotdale, to assemble 100 horse; and I am given to understand (which I cannot warrant) that Buccleuch, who has married the Earl of Angus's sister, will, by the Earl Morton's procurement, turn on that side after all his losses, so as he may be assured of the Queen's Majesty's favour henceforth.

You see what packing there is in Scotland by Lidington's devices, who doth plainly give it out that our Queen is resolved to restore his Mistress,

* See the next letter.

and hath procured this assembly, and the French messenger, to make her Majesty afraid. His speeches are that, if they will but make a shew, her Majesty will yield ; which he delivered with such words as be unfit for him to speak or me to write, if I shall believe that which is delivered by such as have always dealt bona fide in these matters. He warrants his speeches upon intelligence thence, but I know not from whom. It appears there are many who affect still the King's government, and many who, for fear of the Queen's slackness in defence, be revolted ; so as if she lack a sufficient party the fault is in herself ; and if she will have one, it must be had with more charge than it might have been had before. Morton and his faction say that if her Majesty will presently enter into public maintenance of their King's authority, and send money to entertain 1000 soldiers of their own for three months, and command the forces here to aid them for that time, they will bring all Scotland in effect to obey that authority ; take, with the assistance of the force here, all strengths that may receive strangers ; banish such as shall refuse to obey that authority, or make them unable to levy force ; and cause all Scotland to yield justice to England without the Queen's charge ; and be able to govern the realm after by their own powers, so long as no foreign power shall enter ; and, if any foreign power enter, they will spend their lives, and all they have, to join with such aid as her Majesty shall give them to expel them.

The time passeth away, and therefore it were good her Majesty would resolve what she will do ; * for as if she will restore the S. Q. it were no good policy to have me shew countenance on the other side, so, if she will maintain the other side, and command me to join with them, I will, with allowance of 300 carriage horses, make all men within 30 miles of the borders to obey that authority, or I will not leave a stone house for any of them to sleep in in surety that shall refuse ; and, if her Majesty command me to pass further, I will, with the help of Morton, deliver the castle of Edinburgh, or any other in Scotland, to the hands of any in Scotland whom Morton, with her Majesty's consent, shall appoint to receive them. These matters have too long slept ; it is time now to wake ; and, therefore, good Mr. Secretary, sound the Queen's mind fully ; and if she intend to restore the Scotch Queen, advise her to do it in convenient sort, and suffer me not to put my finger in the fire without cause, and her to be drawn into it by such degrees as are neither honourable nor sure ; and if she will set up the other side, and make open shew thereof, let her command what she will, and it shall be done, or I will lie by it. Scotland perhaps is in greater fear of this small company, well chosen and appointed, than it hath been of a far greater force in other times, not so well appointed ; and therefore it may

* Elizabeth, whose irresolution at this period was certainly unaffected, appears to have decided in favour of the King's party within a few weeks after ; though she made no public declaration of her sentiments till October in the following year.

do more at this present, (if Scotland see the Queen is resolutely determined) then I will write, because I have the charge of it.

I will trouble you no longer. You see how by degrees our Mistress fleeth from her surety ; and that many of us care so much for the state to come as we put the present in peril. Do, therefore, good Mr. Secretary, what you may to bring her Majesty to some resolution, and your friend to know what he shall do with surety ; and use this letter as your friend's letter, who would use you as himself.

From Berwick, 25th of April, 1570.

Your's assuredly,

T. SUSSEX.

No. LI.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. E. fol. 145. 1570.)

SIR ROBERT CONSTABLE
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

Right Hon. and my most especial good Lord. FORASMUCH as I would not be forgetful of my duty to your Lordship, I have thought good to trouble you with these my letters ; advertising your Honour the whole discourse of our enterprises here done since our coming into these parts.* First,

* This curious ancient gazette contains a journal of the furious inroad made by Sussex, called here the Lord Lieutenant, and Hunsdon, in 1570 (*see the last letter*). The pretence for this expedition was the chastisement of the clans of Carr, or Ker, and Scot, which had lately committed some depredations on the English borders ; but the true motive was to awe the few remaining friends of Mary, and to prevent them from uniting while the Regency remained vacant. Elizabeth issued a proclamation upon this occasion, declaring her inviolable friendship to the Scottish

my Lord Le
Hunsdon, and
hundred armed pikes and tow
from Wark, the 17th of April, entered into the
realm of Scotland; and did burn and spoil all
along the river of Rowle, and the water of Cale,
and encamped that night at Gedworth. The next
morning he marched to Fernhurst,* and overthrew
it; and so burned and spoiled all along the river
of Tiviot; and so to Hawick,† and burned and
spoiled it. The next day he overthrew the strong
house of the Lord of Buccleuch, called Branxholm;‡
and thence to Bedrowell, a house of Sir Andrew
Trumble, and overthrew it; with divers other no-
table towers and houses all along those rivers
aforenamed. The next night we retired to Ged-
worth, where we encamped again. The next morn-
ing we dislodged and burnt all the country along the
river of Bowbank, and burnt and spoiled the whole
country as we marched; and came back that night
to Kelsey. The number of the towns and villages by
estimation was above 500; the terror of the which
caused the rest of the country to come and offer

nation, but setting forth the necessity of punishing some particular
offenders; and this was repeatedly read at the head of an army
which was then employed in desolating the east and west bor-
ders. The circumstances which attended this invasion have es-
caped the notice of historians: even Camden, who lived at the
time, makes no mention of so horrible and uncommon a spoil.

* Fernihast, in Tiviotdale; a house belonging to the Kers,
ancestors of the Marquis of Lothian.

† A market town eight miles S. W. of Jedburgh.

‡ Branxholm, near Hawick, the ancient seat of the family of
Scot.

their submission to my Lord Lieutenant, with all the friendship and service they could do to him and to his ; and so we retired ourselves back again for that time ; so that we rested ourselves three or four days. The 27th day, my Lord Lieutenant being at Wark, accompanied with the whole bands of footmen, and 1000 horse, with three battery pieces and two sacris, went to the siege of Hume,* where he planted his battery ; where, within twelve hours after the battery was planted, the castle was surrendered to him simply, having within it 240 soldiers ; so the soldiers departed out of it in their hose and doublets. Surely, my Lord, if I had had the charge with 50 soldiers, I would have thought me worthy to have been hung, drawn, and quartered, if I had delivered it within the month's siege. My Lord has appointed Mr. Wood his his band, and Mr. Pikeman his band, two of the bands of Berwick, to have the keeping of it ; and so my Lord retired back again to Berwick, to refresh himself and his company.

Item, the 4th day of May he sent out certain bands of horsemen, and also certain footmen, to march towards Fastcastle,† which, immediately upon the horsemen's coming, yielded themselves simply ; and there is also certain garrison appointed

* Hume Castle, situated about the centre of Berwickshire ; the original seat of the Humes, from which they derived their surname. It was destroyed by the English during Cromwell's usurpation.

† A strong fortress, which likewise belonged to the family of Hume. It stood on a little promontory a few miles north of Coldingham.

dry other places in Scotland, should be raised by the Earl of Sussex ; whereat she finds herself much grieved, and thinks it shall appear unto the world she makes small account thereof. She hath begun this Monday, being the 8th of May, to exercise her long bow again, with her folks, with troubled mind, as I think. She utters to me now that she is sorry that the Queen's Majesty uses her subjects so, to spoil their coming under trust, as she terms it ; and therefore she fears she shall receive small comfort at the Queen's Majesty's hands, but will hope that other Princes will have care of her and her country. This is all she utters to me yet.

I must now require money at the Queen's Majesty's hands for this Queen's diet, and that I may have some apressed, for otherwise I shall want needful provisions which are to be made beforehand. There will be near £500 due to me before Whitsunday ; and therefore I desire you, because I would be loth to trouble you again before Michaelmas for any more money, that I might have £1000 with this that is due already, and I shall make shift for the rest till then. And thus, wishing to you as to myself, I cease to trouble you.

No. LIII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. P. fol. 565.)

TO THE COUNTESS OF SHREWSBURY.

My most humble duty remembered unto your honourable good Lord. May it please the same to

nants. None of them could excuse themselves of any of the four points, saving Appleyard said he meant nothing towards the Queen's person; for that he meant to have had them to a banquet, and to have betrayed them all, and to have won credit thereby with the Queen. Throgmorton was mute, and would say nothing till he was condemned, who then said, They are full merry now that will be as sorry within these few days. Mr. Bell was attorney for Mr. Gerrard, he being one of the Judges; and Mr. Bell alleged against Appleyard that he was consenting to the treason before; alleging one Parker's words, that was brought prisoner with Dr. Storey out of Flanders, that Parker heard of the treason before Nallard came over to the Duke of Alva. And there stood one Bacon by that heard Parker say so: my Lord offered a book to Bacon for to swear; "O, my Lord," said Appleyard, "will you condemn me of his oath that is registered for a knave in the Book of Martyrs?"

They had set out a proclamation, and had four prophecies; one was touching the wantonness of the Court, and the other touching this land to be conquered by the Scots; and two more that I can not remember. There were many in trouble for speaking of seditious words. Thomas Cecil* said that the Duke of Norfolk was not of that religion as he was accounted to be; and that his cousin

* Richard Cecil, father of Lord Burghley, had a younger brother David, who was probably the father of this Thomas. No notice is taken in the pedigrees of that time of David's issue, and it is not unlikely that the Treasurer interfered to prevent any record of a Romish and disaffected branch of his family.

The Emperor is setting forward his other daughter* towards Metz, to be married to the French King. It is written, by letters of the 28th of the last, from Venice, that the Turk has landed in Cyprus 100,000 men, or more; and has besieged the two great cities within that kingdom, Nicocia and Famagosta. At one assault at Famagosta they lost 12,000 men; upon the which repulse the Begler Bey* of Natolia, the General of the Turk's army, wrote to the great Turk, his master, that he thought it was invincible. He answered that, if they did not win it before they came, they should be put to the sword at their return home. The Turk has sent another army by land against the Venetians, into Dalmatia, and are besieging Zara with 20,000 footmen and 20,000 horsemen, and divers towns they have taken, as Spalatro, Elisa, Eleba, and Nona, with great spoil and bloodshed; and it is written that the Turk's several armies are above 200,000 men against the Venetians. The men first sent by the Venetians fell so into diseases by the way as they were fain to prepare new men, which is thought will hardly come to do any good in Cyprus. A man may see what account is to be made of these worldly things, as to see in a small time the third state of Christendom in security, power, and wealth, to be in danger of utter overthrow in one year.

* Elizabeth, second daughter of Maximilian II. She was married to Charles IX. of France, Nov. 26th, 1570, and died Jan. 22nd, 1592.

† Beglerbey, or Beglerbeg; a Viceroy, or Governor of a Province.

arrived here safely at the Court on Saturday, in the afternoon, and have imparted to her Majesty our proceedings with that Queen, wherein our labours are not disliked by her Majesty; and yet some exceptions are taken to two or three of the last answers made by the Queen of Scots, wherein I think there will prove no such difficulty but that the Queen of Scots will satisfy the Queen's Majesty; so as the whole now shall rest upon some good determination of the rest at the coming of the Commissioners from Scotland on both parts.

We have, as in duty we are bound, made report to her Majesty of your Lordship's careful, discreet, and chargeable service in the charge of that Queen, for her surety, and for the Queen's Majesty's honour. We have also fully satisfied her Majesty with the painful and trusty behaviour of my Lady your wife, in giving good regard to the surety of the said Queen; wherein her Majesty surely seemed to us to be very glad, and used many good words, both of your Lordship's fidelity towards herself, and of the love that she thought my Lady did bear to her. We also besought her Majesty that your Lordship might receive her thanks for your chargeable and loving entertainment of us, which I trust she will cause to be known to your Lordship.

Now for the removing of that Queen, her Majesty said, at the first, that she trusted so to make an end in short time that your Lordship should be shortly acquitted of her; nevertheless, when I told her Majesty that you could not long endure

your household there, for lack of fuel and other things, and that I thought Tutbury not so fit a place as it was supposed, but that Sheffield was the meetest, her Majesty said she would think of it, and within few days, give me knowledge. Only I see her Majesty loth to have that Queen to be often removed, supposing that thereby she cometh to new acquaintance ; but to that I said your Lordship could remove her without calling any to you but your own. Upon motion made by me, at the Bishop of Ross's request, the Queen's Majesty is pleased that your Lordship shall, when you see times meet, suffer that Queen to take the air about your house on horseback, so your Lordship be in company ; and therein I am sure your Lordship will have good respect to your own company, to be sure and trusty ; and not to pass from your house above one or two miles, except it be on the moors ; for I never fear any other practice of strangers, as long as there is no corruption amongst your own. And thus I humbly take my leave of your Lordship and my Lady, to whom my wife has written to give her thanks for certain tokens, whereof I understood nothing before she told me of them ; and sorry I am my Lady should have bestowed such things as my wife cannot recompence as she would, but with her hearty good will and service, which shall always be ready, to her power and mine also ; assuring yourself that to my uttermost I will be to your Lordship and to my Lady as sure in good will as any poor friend you have.



I wish that I might hear of Hall's* apprehension, for the Queen's Majesty most earnestly desireth to have him had ; and, if he be not, I beseech your Lordship use all the good means you can possibly. I humbly thank your Lordship for the venison pasties that I have received of Mr. Kniveton, your servant. From Windsor, the 26th of October, 1570.

The term shall hold at Westminster. The Queen of Spain † is safely arrived in Spain. The French King is gone to Soissons, to meet with the Emperor's daughter that shall be his wife. Monsieur d'Anjou meets her at Meziers. The peace continues in France.

Your Lordship's at commandment,

W. CECIL.

*To the right honourable my very good Lord,
, the Earl of Shrewsbury.*

* A gentleman of Derbyshire, who, in concert with the Earl of Derby's younger sons, and some others, had lately laid a plot to liberate the Queen of Scots, which was discovered by Rolston, a gentleman pensioner, and son to one of the conspirators. They were all seized except Hall, who fled to the Isle of Man, and was sent thence, by some friends of the Bishop of Ross, to Dunbar-ton Castle, upon the surprise of which by the Regent's forces in the following spring, he was given up to Elizabeth, and soon after suffered death in London.

† Anne, eldest daughter of the Emperor Maximilian II. She had lately become the fourth wife of Philip II. of Spain, her mother's brother. Elizabeth, in compliment to the house of Austria, equipped a fleet, and despatched several persons of quality, to escort this young lady from Zealand towards Spain.

No. LVI.

(Howard Papers.)

LORD BURGHLEY

TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

It may please your Lordship,

BESIDES some things written in the Queen's Majesty's letters, her pleasure is that I should certify and advertise you of these things following. We find that of late one Ridolphi,* an Italian merchant, was by the Bishop of Ross sent to the Duke of Alva, and so to pass to the Pope, and then into Spain; and that before his going there was a secret conspiracy here by the said Bishop with two Lords, to us yet unknown, for a new rebellion this summer. Since, also, we know that Ridolphi wrote letters from Brussels to the Bishop of Ross, signifying that the Duke of Alva liked well of the purposes; he wrote also to the two Lords at the same time to move them to continue their purpose. All these were written in cypher, and the two letters to the Lords were also endorsed with several marks, and the Bishop was willed to deliver the one letter to 30, and the other to 40. Now, the

* This Ridolphi, or Ridolpho, was a Florentine, an agent of the Papal Court, who had lived long in London under the charter of a merchant. His general commission was to sow sedition in England, and it is not strange that he should apply himself for this purpose to the Queen of Scots, or that she, under such desperate circumstances, should hearken to his overtures for the recovery of her liberty, and her marriage to the Duke of Norfolk. These plans, in which all the Catholic powers of Europe had interested themselves, were discovered by one of Mary's servants, a German, who was tortured to extort confession.

Bishop being examined, denies not the sending of Ridolphi to Flanders, to Rome, and to Spain ; nor the receiving of letters from him in cypher ; nor the receiving of two letters, the one to be delivered to 30 the other to 40 ; but he says that the figure 40 was meant for the Queen of Scots, and the figure 30 the Spanish Ambassador ; and that the Queen of Scots did write by Ridolphi to the Duke of Alva, to the Pope, and the King of Spain ; but he says it was partly for money, partly for aid against her rebels. But still the Queen's Majesty has ascertained by good proof that the letters 30 and 40 were to two Lords of England ; for it was written in them that they should march with their power towards London, and that the Duke of Alva would send power to a port to join with the two Lords.

Now, the Queen's Majesty will have your Lordship speedily to speak with that Queen before any messenger can come from the Bishop of Ross, and move her (as she will look for any favour at the Queen's Majesty's hand, or will appear to her Majesty to mean truly) that she will answer these questions :—

What letters she wrote by Ridolphi, and to whom, and to what purpose ; and to shew you presently the copies of those letters.

Secondly, to declare what letters she has received from Ridolphi whilst he was lately in the Low Countries, and how they were written, whether in cypher or not ; and to show your Lordship those letters.

Again, to shew your Lordship whether, in any cypher to her known now remaining with the Bishop of Ross, she is named by the figure of 30 or 40; and what superscription was upon the letter of Ridolphi to her; for we understand that Ridolphi did but make a mark upon those letters.

You shall require to know in what manner of cypher Ridolphi did write to her, and you shall desire to see the alphabet of that cypher, and shall require only the characters, without any explication or signification of them; for we here do know in what cypher the said letters of 30 and 40 were written, but the Bishop says they were in an Italian cypher, which is false. All these things her Majesty would have you earnestly demand, and if the Bishop say truth then she can declare the same; but your Lordship shall not, until she has fully denied all, say any thing of the Bishop's answers. Hereof I pray your Lordship send answer by this bearer.

Furthermore, we have great cause to have one John Cobbard, a Scotchman, servant to the Bishop of Ross, taken. We hear he departed hence twenty days past: if by any means your Lordship can get him, let him be taken, and sent up secretly. The Queen's Majesty likes well of all your orders, and can be content that (if yourself shall so be content) the number above 30 permitted to be with that Queen, by your Lordship, shall remain. If the Queen of Scots be offended with the restraint of the Bishop, certainly you may say that the whole Council have found his practices

uestered, and in custody of Sir Ralph Sadler. Upon these considerations her Majesty thinks it most necessary that you be now circumspect over your charge, for, besides these things above said, there are discovered plainly that the Duke has had a continual intelligence with that Queen, contrary to that which I thought he meant ; and as I am sorry that it is so, so am I glad that it is discovered. I think shortly you shall hear more hereof, and so I take my leave of your Lordship.

From the Court at Horeham,* near Thacksted, in Essex, 5th September, 1571.

Your Lordship's at commandment,

W. BURGHLEY.

upwards of a fortnight, to examine these wretched persons, who were severely, and at last unnecessarily, tortured, by Elizabeth's express order. Sir Thomas Smith, a person of great humanity, writes to Lord Burghley a few days after the date of this letter (*see Murdin*, 95). "Though we be importune to crave revocation from this unpleasant and painful toil, I pray you be not angry with us. I assure, for my part, I would not wish to be one of Homer's gods if I thought I should be Minos, Eacus, or Rada-manthus : I had rather be one of the least *Umbræ in Campis Elysii*. I suppose we have gotten as much as at this time is like to be had, yet to-morrow do we intend to bring a couple of them to the rack, not in any hope to get any thing worthy that pain or fear, but because it is so earnestly commanded unto us."

* Horeham, a manor in the large parish of Thacksted in Essex, was granted by Henry VIII., with other considerable property in that neighbourhood, to Sir John Cutt, Master of the Ordnance. "Old Cutt," says Leland, meaning this Sir John, "bulded Horeham Haule, a very sumptuous house in Est-Sax, by Thaxtede ; and there is a goodly pond, or lake, by it, and faire parkes there-about." At this mansion the Queen was now entertained on her progress by the builder's great grandson, Sir John Cutt, who was so famous for his liberal housekeeping that Elizabeth once sent down a Spanish Ambassador, with a numerous train, to be kept by him during the time of a sickness in London. His profuseness in this way entirely ruined him, and his estates were sold to various families in Essex. That of Horeham is now possessed by Sir William Smith, of Hill-Hall, Baronet.

shall desire. As for Robinson, her Majesty would have you direct him to Scotland.

It is true that the Earl of Lennox, late Regent, was slain after that he was taken, by commandment of Claude Hamilton; and he that killed him named Calder, who has confessed it. The Earl of Mar is confirmed Regent by Parliament, at Stirling, whereto the Earls of Argyle, Eglinton, Cassilis, and Crawford, with the Lords Boyde and St. Columb, have sworn and subscribed; and all the Lords have made a band to revenge this late murder of the Earl of Lennox. All this you may impart to that Queen as your Lordship sees cause. Your Lordship may also let her know that her letters and discourses, in articles, being in cypher, to the Duke of Norfolk, are found, and he has confessed the same, and delivered the alphabet; so as she may not now find it strange that her Majesty uses her in this sort, but rather think it strange that it is no worse. Indeed, we have the Scottish Queen's writing, and the cyphers.

I have now no more to your Lordship, but end with my humble commendations to yourself and to my Lady.

From Mark's Hall,* in Essex.

Your Lordship's at commandment,

W. BURGHLEY.

* A manor near Braintree, which, having fallen to the Crown by the attainder of Par, Marquis of Northampton, was granted by Queen Mary to Sir Robert Rochester, who gave it by will to the priory of Shene, after the suppression of which Elizabeth restored it to the Marquis. Upon that nobleman's decease with-

ship, to the end, as he says, that the same might be always known; I have thought good to advertise your Ladyship thereof, and withal to pray you to let me understand the truth of such matter as your Ladyship doth know of the said Hersey Lascelles's dealings from time to time, as particularly as your Ladyship can remember. And so I take my leave of your Ladyship.

From London, the 13th of October, 1571.

Your Ladyship's at commandment,

W. BURGHLEY.

*To the right honourable and my very good
Lady, the Countess of Shrewsbury. Haste,
haste, haste.*

No. LX.

(Howard Papers.)

LORD BURGHLEY

TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

My honourable good Lord,

THIS matter of the Duke of Norfolk grows daily larger upon examination. I am sorry to see so many touched therewith. My Lord Cobham is in my house as a prisoner, who otherwise should have been in the Tower: I loved him well, and therefore am sorry for his offence. The conveyance of that Queen from you appears to have been many ways attempted, whereof the Duke confesses to have been acquainted with sundry. Beside Sir Thomas Stanley's* enterprise, Sir Henry Percy,

* See note on No. L.IV.

and is now with me here at Richmond. The Duke of Feria, in Spain, died the 9th of September, whereof the Queen of Scots will not be glad.

*To the right honourable my very good Lord,
the Earl of Shrewsbury.*

No. LXI.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. F. fol. 37.)

THE BISHOP OF GALLOWAY
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

Please your Honour,

ACCORDING to my promise I have suited divers times to have passage to certain which my Lord Earl of Huntley prepared for your Lordship to be in beginning of former kindness to continue betwixt your Honours; and, as of before, if passage may be had, you shall be delivered upon your first advertisement. In this mean time it will be your Lordship's pleasure not to be offended that I let you know the estate of the affairs of this country.

We have at all times been ready to abide the pleasure and will of the Queen your Sovereign concerning the Queen our Mistress' deliverance, and have been content that the manner of our just and dutiful proceedings might be justified before her Majesty, always now we are advertised of her Highness' discontentment, whereof we are sorry; and albeit that our Sovereign's enemies have gotten her Highness' money, coming to us, with munition and artillery, and other sums are stayed, which we

command to us, that, praised be God, you have little profit of the persecution and besieging of this town. They made one breach of three score feet of breadth, and durst not enter. Our artillery beat them at the last out of their trenches, and divers of them are killed. Shortly they were put aback, and we have better and greater liberty than from the beginning. Besides that, my Lord of Huntley's brother has defeated so many of our
in the north, as gavestood her Highness ; another here was slain, the principal of the gentleman of the Forbes's, the number of 36, with my Lord Forbes's brother ; 110, whereof my Lord Forbes's second son is one, and the rest belong to Baronies, and substantial gentlemen. My Lord Huntley has sent since ammunition and artillery, with powder, bullet, and men of war, to the North, to follow their victory. As to the enterprise of Stirling, his Lordship was not, upon my honour, past 100 hacquebusiers and 300 horsemen ; and, if disorder had not happened by the greediness of the soldiers for the spoil of the town, he had brought the Earls of Lennox, Morton, Glencairn, Eglintown ; the Lords Ruthven, Methven, Sempell, with the rest of the Earls and Lords that were there, to this town, always you get one great defeat. The Regents of this country are

, and they shall be to the end that thus unjustly usurp our Sovereign's authority ; God move the Queen, your Sovereign's heart, to withdraw her Highness' countenance from our enemies, as I hope in God her Highness shall, for the Lord

Hunsdon, Governor of Berwick, is presently dealing with us that we shall do all good offices that may bring amity betwixt both our Sovereigns, their realms, and subjects, as I doubt not but your honour, and all the faithful subjects of England will do the like this.

My very good Lord, not willing to trouble your Honour with longer writing, I wish you, and my Lady your bed-fellow, good health, with mercy and grace from God the Father through our Lord Jesus Christ ; without omitting of my hearty commendations to both your Honours.

From Edinburgh, the 16th day of November, 1571.

Your honourable Lordship's assured,
at power, to command,

A. GALLOWAY.*

*To the right honourable and my very good
Lord, my Lord Earl of Shrewsbury.*

* Alexander Gordon, second son of John Lord Gordon, heir apparent to Alexander, third Earl of Huntley, by Jean, a natural daughter of King James IV. He was appointed Bishop of Galloway by Mary, to whose interests he seems to have been always firmly attached, and for whom he was now a commissioner in the negociation with Elizabeth which has been lately mentioned. The Kirk soon after suspended him from his function, and he assigned his see to his son, who obtained a charter of confirmation under the great seal. He died in 1576. The Bishop's nephew, George, the young Earl of Huntley, who is mentioned in this letter, was at this time commander in chief of Mary's adherents in Scotland.

No. LXII.

(Howard Papers.)

LORD BURGHLEY

TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

My Lord,

AFTER my most hearty and due commendations. This day I received letters from my Lord of Hunsdon, whereby he doth advertise me of a boy that should shortly come thither, with letters to that Queen; and, for the full knowledge thereof, I send to your Lordship the clause of his letter concerning the same, whereupon your Lordship may the better regard the party.

I have disclosed the contents of some of the cyphered letters which your Lordship lately sent to me, being hidden under a stone. One was from that Queen to the Duke of Alva, wherein she makes plain mention of the practice of Ridolphi, imputing the discovery thereof to the negligence of others, and not of herself. Another of the letters was to Grange and Liddington, to confirm them to stand fast, and to expect money from the Duke of Alva, with the Lord Seaton. The third letter is not yet decyphered. The Lord Seaton is indeed by stealth come through England, landed at Harwich, and so passed into Scotland, by the Middle March, and is in the Castle of Edinburgh, where he hinders the accord. Le Croque is come hither, and shall to-morrow speak with her Majesty. I have no other news. I have committed the London companions, Reed, Theophilus,

and the rest. And so, with my commendations to my good Lady, I end. March 4th, 1571.

Your Lordship's assuredly,

W. BURGHLEY.

Extract out of my Lord of Hunsdon's letters, of the 28th of February, 1571.

They have also advertised me from the Regent of a certain boy that should come lately out of England with letters to the Castle of Edinburgh, and is to return back again within three or four days. I have written to Sir John Foster to lay wait for him within his Warderney, as I will do within mine ; and if your Lordship have any occasion to send where the Scotch Queen lieth, it were not amiss that my Lord of Shrewsbury had warning of him. His letters are sewed in the buttons and seams of his coat. His coat is of black English frieze ; he has a cut on his left cheek from his eye down, by the which he may be well known.

To the right honourable my very good Lord the Earl of Shrewsbury, one of the Lords of her Majesty's Privy Council.

No. LXIII.

(Howard Papers.)

THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY TO
LORD BURGHLEY.

My very good Lord,

THIS bearer, Marshal de Jos, came hither on Wednesday last by her Majesty's license, as ap-

peared by his commission signed with your hand; who brought from the said Ambassador the sum of £150, which I delivered unto this Queen. His speech unto her was but short, altogether in my hearing, and containing no matter of importance as far as I could gather; neither did he deliver any letters, tokens, or privy message, unto her or any belonging unto her, for I used strait order to keep him from company of speech with any of them. She has now sent letters by him unto the Queen's Majesty, and also to the Ambassador; which letters I thought mete to enclose in a packet, directed under my seal, unto your Lordship, that they may be used there as shall stand with her Majesty's pleasure.

She made importunate request unto me this time that I should write unto her Majesty to desire knowledge of her pleasure whether her Highness would give her leave to sue for her access unto her Majesty or not, whereof she is still vehemently desirous, alleging, as she was wont, that she has great matters to impart unto her Majesty, expedient for her knowledge; but I utterly refused to deal for her therein, albeit I thought it not amiss to advertise you of this her earnest motion. I shall desire your Lordship to move that whosoever shall at any time have license to repair hither unto her, he may bring with him her Majesty's express warrant for my discharge; otherwise I mean not to permit him so much as to enter into my gates, what person soever he be. Thus I wish unto your good Lordship as well as I would unto myself.



From Sheffield Castle, this 2nd of August,
1572.

Your good Lordship's ever assured friend
to my power,

G. SHREWSBURY.

*To the right honourable my very good Lord the
Lord Burghley, Treasurer of England.*

—
No. LXIV.

(Howard Papers.)

THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY
TO THE QUEEN.

May it please your Majesty,

I RECEIVED lately your Highness's letters that I should see an indifferent jury impaneled for your Majesty in the county of Derby, to enquire of John Sacheverel, fugitive; whereupon I gave knowledge to the Sheriff of that shire of time and place which I thought metest for that matter, and with much ado the Sheriff at length met me, where we had some talk, of his part more stout and forward than in that matter was requisite. He would use no conference with me to the end your Majesty wrote; neither would he forbear or impannel any man at my motion; but departed, saying he would do as he thought mete; and so he did make and return a jury as himself liked best, without my assent. The jury indeed are very honest and discreet men; but for that I did well perceive Sacheverel and his friends bear such rule with that

jury, and they were so near Newhaven and his friends (and su-
danger) as great favour was left
the fugitive, I thought not good
until your Majesty were adver-
tised further known; for loth I
notorious offender, or contempt
your Majesty, should have a
have to do; the example the
breed overmuch boldness in the
offences. Mr. Rolston can re-
quest the further circumstance
this matter, and therefore I cer-
tainly; praying to God, accord-
duty, ever for your most excel-

At Sheffield Castle, this 16

Your Majesty's most hum-
servar

To the Queen's most excellent Majesty.

No. LXV.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. P. 1

THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY TO

My good Lord,
I MOST heartily thank your Lord-
ship for the letter I received from Kenilworth
unto your Lordship another similar
to remove this Queen to my lordship
the place where she is safer

and considering if any practices shall be used, betwixt this and Hallowtide is the fittest time to put in use, therefore I mind not to remove her at all, unless it be for five or six days, to cleanse her chamber, being kept very uncleanly. She is desirous of new men, and send these abroad ; which, if by the Ambassador's means may be obtained at the Queen's Majesty's hands, will bring new devices. Now she is mostly quiet, saving she mislikes she cannot go a hunting into the fields, upon horseback ; which I trust the Queen's Majesty will not assent to, unless she minds to set her at liberty. And so, having no matter else of importance, I end with my most hearty commendations to your good Lordship.

At Sheffield Castle, this 26th of August, 1572.

Your Lordship's ever assured to my power,

G. SHREWSBURY.

*To the right honourable my Lord Burghley,
Lord Treasurer of England.*

No. LXVI.

(Howard Papers.)

LORD BURGHLEY TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

My good Lord,

THE Queen's Majesty liked your letter brought to me by Sabran, the French Ambassador's man, and especially the continuance of your plain dealing in that your charge ; and yet, upon the Ambassador's earnest motion, her Majesty is content, and would have your Lordship, if you think it not in-

convenient, to confer with that Queen upon her number of servants, wherein she findeth lack ; and how she would have the same supplied, for the French Ambassador says she lacks servitors for her necessary service, in that some one serves in two or three rooms.* And as your Lordship shall find the lack indeed necessary, so is her Majesty content that your Lordship shall of your own discretion supply the same, or otherwise advertise her Majesty thereof.

Secondly, it is required that the said Queen might have some one of her servants come out of France, to inform her of her accounts there ; and that she might send some letters into France for that purpose. Whereunto her Majesty is thus pleased ;—that she shall write open letters of her instructions, to be seen by your Lordship, and sent hither with your letters to the Ambassador ; and otherwise her Majesty will not that she shall send any persons hence. And thus I end, with my most hearty commendations.

From Compton in the Hole (so well called for a deep valley ; but surely the entertainment is very great, and here have I wished your Lordship), 23rd of August, 1572.

Your Lordship's assured,

W. BURGHLEY.

My good Lord, I stayed this letter until this day that by my Lord Talbot I understood that he would send in the morning to you. Our news out

* Or offices.

of France is strange. The Admiral,* having waited on the King to Tennis, at his return to Paris, was shot at out of a house belonging to a follower of the Duke of Guise, with a calibre, having three bullets, and his forefinger of his right hand struck off with one pellet, his wrist of his left arm shot through in two places ; and hereupon he is fallen sick of a fever somewhat dangerously. The King of Navarre was married the last week at Paris ; the Prince of Condé also married the week before that. In Scotland the abstinence continues hardly. The Prince of Orange has overthrown all the Almaines that were coming out of Germany to aid the Duke of Alva. Monsieur le Nowe has lately slain 1200 Spaniards at In Ireland the troubles of Connaught are pacified. Of the Earl of Northumberland's death I think your Lordship cannot be ignorant. The Earl of Huntingdon is appointed Lord President of the North.

And thus I end, with my humble and hearty commendations both to your Lordship and to my Lady.

* The famous Gaspard de Coligny, the Patriarch of the Huguenots. This attack on his person was made on the 22nd of August, by Nicholas de Louviers, Lord of Morevel, or, more properly, Maurevert, in Brie. It was the signal for the horrible massacre of St. Bartholomew, which began on the 24th, and which had been planned by Catherine de Medicis, and the King her son, amidst the festivities of the court on the nuptials of the King of Navarre, and the Prince of Condé, which are mentioned here. The former of those princes married Margaret of Valois, third sister to Charles IX., the latter, Mary of Cleves, daughter to Francis, Duke of Nevers.

From Woodstock, the 27th of August, 1572.

Your Lordship's at commandment,

W. BURGHLEY.

*To the right honourable my very good Lord
the Earl of Shrewsbury, one of the Lords
of her Majesty's Privy Council.*

No. LXVII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. F. fol. 33. 1572.*)

FRAGMENT.

LORD BURGHLEY
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

—AFTER I had enclosed up these letters, her Majesty willed me to let your Lordship understand that she would have you use some speech to the Queen of Scots in this sort: that it is now fully discovered to her Majesty what practices that Queen has had in hand, both with the Duke of Norfolk and others, upon the sending away of Ridolfi into Spain; and, though it is known to her Majesty, by writings extant, how she was in deliberation what was best for her to do for her escape out of this realm, and thereof caused the Duke of Norfolk to be conferred withal, and that she made choice rather to go into Spain than into Scotland or France, yet her Majesty thinks it no just cause to be offended with those devices tending to her liberty. Neither is she offended

* This letter is indorsed by the Earl's hand, "the Quene's Majesty's letter of the v of Septembar, for the redusing of the Scottes Quene's nombar to xvi parsons of all sortes," and appears to have been the cover of the Queen's letter.

with her purposes to offer her son in marriage to the King of Spain's daughter, in which matter the late Queen of Spain had solicited her; neither that she sought to make the King of Spain believe that she would give ear to the offer of Don John de Austria.* But the very matter of offence is that her Majesty understands certainly her labours and devices to stir up a new rebellion in this realm, and to have the King of Spain to assist it; and, finding the said Queen now so bent, she must not think but that her Majesty hath cause to alter her courteous dealings with her. And so, in this sort, her Majesty would have you tempt her patience, to provoke her to answer somewhat;† for of all these premises her Majesty is certainly assured, and of much more.

Her Majesty told me a while ago that a gentleman of my Lord of (I dare not name the party) coming to your Lordship's house, was by your

* Natural son to the Emperor Charles V. and Governor of the Netherlands. Historians place Don John's offer of marriage to Mary four years after this date.

† We have here the prime minister of a powerful and wise Monarch, directing, by her order, one of the first noblemen of the realm to visit the cell of a prisoner, and to exercise the office of a spy of the inquisition, by artfully drawing the proofs of the prisoner's guilt from her own mouth. The terms in which this treacherous mandate is couched aggravate the idea of its turpitude. The Earl, deep in the secrets of her story, already master of all the known evidence against her, is ordered not only to sift her by artful questions, but to assail her passions, and to work upon the weakness of a feminine temper which had been rendered infinitely irritable by a long series of misfortunes—in a word, "to tempt her patience to provoke her to utter somewhat!"—What a frightful addition is this to the horrors of Mary's prison, as they are described in a following letter!

Lordship asked whether he had seen the Queen of Scots or no, and he said no : then, quoth your Lordship, you shall see her anon ; which offer her Majesty misliking, I said that I durst say it was not true in that matter. I perceive her Majesty would have that Queen kept very straitly from all conference, insomuch it is more likely that she shall be rather committed to ward than to have more liberty. Your Lordship shall do well to send the names of those that shall remain, and of such as shall depart.

Your Lordship's at commandment,

W. B. Sep. 5.

The Queen's Majesty's Letters to the Earl of Shrewsbury. W. Burghley. Haste post, haste, haste, for life, life, life, life, &c.

No. LXVIII.

(Howard Papers.)

LORD BURGHLEY TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

My very good Lord,

THE Queen's Majesty has commanded me to take some regard to the prosecuting of her interest which is to grow to her by the departure and remaining over the seas of one Mr. Sacheverell, wherein Mr. Rolston has been at charge to follow the inquisition thereof, by virtue of a commission directed to your Lordship and others. And hereupon I have conferred with Mr. Rolston, by whom I perceive how honourably and earnestly you have

proceeded for the inquisition of the truth ; whereof her Majesty is also privy, and does acceptably account the same to be the rather done upon her letters written unto you. And likewise her Majesty is informed in whom the fault is that the matter has not better succeeded, whereof I am sorry that he should so oversee himself for any special respect to forbear to receive your Lordship's advice, as he was specially commanded ; I mean Sir John Zouch, to whom I have presently written by her Majesty's commandment, hoping that, upon this admonition, he would have better regard to that which ought to further her Majesty's service. And so I pray your Lordship to let me understand how you shall find his doings ; for not long ago he wrote to me that he doubted that Mr. Rolston would complain of him, and therefore only required that he might not be disliked until he were heard to answer ; pretending that he had no intent auywise to hinder her Majesty's service ; to which letter I made him answer (as I remember, when her Majesty was at Kenilworth) that I had not heard of any manner of complaint, and therefore I could not tell what otherwise to answer, but to assure him that, until I should see both Mr. Rolston and his answer, I could not justly dislike of him. And for this purpose I do now write to him, and that partly by the Queen's Majesty's commandment, with some part of my own advice.

And for the matter, having here conferred with **Mr. Solicitor General** thereupon, it is by us thought meet, and so I think your Lordship will allow, that

after Sir John Zouch shall have made your Lordship some better answer for a more indifferent jury, if you like thereof, to proceed, by virtue of your commission, to charge the said jury. And for that it were right for the Queen's Majesty to have some person of learning to give the evidence to the jury, to prove the conveyance, we have here thought that Mr. Rhodes, though he be in commission, may forbear to sit in commission, and so serve the Queen's Majesty as in place of her learned counsellor ; which I doubt not but he will do, if your Lordship shall have none meeter, and will so require him. And if it happen that either the Sheriff will not impannel an indifferent jury, or that your Lordship shall see cause to doubt of their finding of the truth to prove the conveyance, then may your Lordship forbear to proceed, and charge the parties that pretend any interest in the land by conveyance, to appear the first day of Michaelmas term in the Exchequer, where the matter may be heard, and ordered as it shall be convenient. I have delivered to this bearer my letter to the Sheriff, whom I have commanded to wait on your Lordship, when you shall send for him.

I do also herewith send your Lordship her Majesty's letter concerning the Queen of Scots ; which, being written, her Majesty doubted that it was not earnestly enough written to keep the said Queen strait : and her Majesty has no meaning that she should have any new servant at this time. By the same letter your Lordship shall perceive how her Majesty has granted to you the office of

the Earl Marshal, whereof I send to your Lordship the bill assigned, for so, after the letter signed, her Majesty willed me to do; and, if your Lordship shall return it hither, I will procure that it shall pass the seals.

My Lord, these French tragedies, and ending of unlucky marriage with blood and vile murders, cannot be expressed with tongue to declare the cruelties: whereof now it is said that the King taketh repentance; and that he was abused to cause it to be thus committed by the Duke of Guise and the faction of the Papists. None of any name of the religion is left living, but such as fled and escaped their pursuers, as the Count Montgomery,* who was pursued two whole days by 200 horse, and yet escaped, and is come into Jersey. The Vidame, also being pursued, is yet escaped; but it is to be doubted how long he shall live, if he flee not out of France. These fires may be doubted that their flames may come both hither and into Scotland, for such cruelties have large scopes. God save our gracious Queen, who now assembles her council that may come to consult what is to be done for some surety. We have sent H. Killigrew this day into Scotland. The French Ambassador came yesterday to Oxford, with le

* Gabriel, Count of Montgomery, who escaped, with the greatest difficulty, from the Massacre of Paris, and took refuge in England. He returned to France in 1574, and, joining the Protestants in Normandy on their first appearance in arms, was made a prisoner by the Mareschal de Matignon, and beheaded in Paris. This was the gentleman who accidentally killed Henry II. of France at a tournament.

touch her, for she is the fountain and the well-spring of the griefs that procure this malice, and though others smart, yet she is the mark they shoot at ;* and so must she think, and accordingly must she provide, or else all will be nought. But my trust is that the same Lord, who has all this while preserved her, will also put into her heart to do that which shall be best for her own and her people's safety. And so, leaving now further to trouble your Lordship, knowing you are presently advertised of all such matters as are worth the sending, I will bid your Lordship most heartily farewell, with like commendations to your Lordship and my good Lady.

At Woodstock, this 8th of September.

Your Lordship's assured friend and cousin,

R. LEICESTER.

No. LXX.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. F. fol. 39. 1572.)

THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY TO LORD BURGHLEY.

My very good Lord,

THESE are to advertise you that this Queen remains still within these four walls in sure keeping ; and those persons continue very quiet, thanked be

* Meaning, no doubt, that the persecution of the Protestants in France was owing to Elizabeth's constancy in their persuasion, an extravagant piece of flattery well suited to the taste of that Princess.

God. She is much offended at my restraint from her walking without this castle, but, for all her anger, I will not suffer her to pass one of these gates until I have contrary commandment expressly from the Queen's Majesty. And though I was fully persuaded that my number of soldiers was sufficient for her safe keeping, yet have I thought good this time to increase the same with 30 soldiers more, for the more terror of the evil-disposed ; and I have also given, and do keep, precise order, not only that no manner of conference shall be had with her, or any of hers, but also that no intelligence shall be brought to her, or any of them ; and, likewise, I have given for walking and observing the woods, and other places thereabout, that are most to be suspected, to the end I may speedily understand of any resort or haunt of suspected persons, or of any thing else meet to be known. Hereof I thought meet to advertise your Lordship, that you may be pleased to declare the same, as you think convenient, unto her Majesty, whom I beseech Almighty God preserve from all practices of her enemies ; and so I end, &c.

Sheffield Castle, the 24th of September.

No. LXXI.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. P. fol. 579.)

THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY TO LORD BURGHLEY.

My very good Lord,
Five weeks are passed since I had any advertisements from your Lordship, which I think long ;



and now especially that it is spoken the Queen's Majesty has been lately sick of the small pox, and as yet no certainty is heard of her Majesty's recovery, or perfect health. You may be sure it is no little grief or discomfort to me. Judge me by yourself; our case is one. I am so desirous to hear of her Majesty's perfect recovery of health, as I have presumed to crave of her Majesty's own hand-writing a word or two for my more comfort.

This Queen is safe, and all well here; and so I wish to your Lordship as well as to myself.

At Sheffield Castle, this 16th of October, at 8 in the night, in haste, 1572.

Your Lordship's ever assured friend
to my power,

G. SHREWSBURY.

*To the right honourable and my very good Lord,
the Lord Treasurer of England.*

No. LXXII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. F. fol. 41.)

THE QUEEN TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

By the Queen.

RIGHT trusty and right well-beloved cousin and counsellor, we greet you well. By your letters sent to us we perceive that you had heard of some late sickness wherewith we were visited; whereof, as you had cause to be greatly grieved, so, though you heard of our amendment, and was thereby re-comforted, yet, for a satisfaction of your mind. you are desirous to have the state of our amend-

ment certified by some few words in a letter from ourselves. True it is that we were about thirteen days past distempered, as commonly happens in the beginning of a fever ; but, after two or three days, without any great inward sickness, there began to appear certain red spots in some part of our face, likely to prove the small pox ;* but, thanked be God, contrary to the expectation of our physicians, and all others about us, the same so vanished away, as, within four or five days passed, no token almost appeared ; and at this day, we thank God, we are so free from any token or mark of any such disease that none can conjecture any such thing. So as by this you may perceive what was our sickness, and in what good estate we are ; thanking you, good cousin, for the care you had of the one, and of the comfort you take of the other, wherein we do assure ourselves of as much fidelity, duty, and love, you bear us as of any, of any degree, within our realm.

Given at our castle of Windsor, the 22nd of October, 1572 ; the 14th year of our reign.

My faithful Shrewsbury, †

Let no grief touch your heart for fear of my disease ; for I assure you, if my credit were not

* Camden informs us that the Queen had the small-pox at this time. It is not easy to determine whether this letter tends to confirm or to contradict his report.

† This curious postscript is written entirely by the Queen's own hand. She frequently practised this delicate stroke of flattery on her old servants, and the Earl's situation particularly required it.

greater than my show, there is no beholder would believe that ever I had been touched with such a malady.

Your faithful loving Sovereign,

ELIZABETH R.

*To our right trusty and right well beloved
cousin and counsellor, the Earl of Shrews-
bury, and Earl Marshal of England.*

No. LXXIII.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. P. fol. 603.)

THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY TO LORD BURGHLEY.

Mine especial good Lord,

HER Majesty's last letters, which I received with yours, declaring her Highness' good health, were most comfortable unto me ; and in respect of the words written with her own hand therein (far above the order used to a subject), I do think myself more happy thereby than any of mine ancestors ; and therefore do I mean, for a perpetual memory, to preserve the same safely, as a principal evidence of my great comfort to my posterity. I shall beeech your Lordship to yield most humble thanks unto her Majesty, in my name, therefor ; and, also, for that it pleased her Highness to accept my true and faithful service, which, by God's grace, shall never be wanting. And, truly, my Lord, or your friendship, which I have always found so great unto me, I do so much estein the same, as you may be justly assured that when any way I

may stand you in stead, you shall well perceive me indeed to be one that thinks himself most beholden unto your Lordship, as I, by Mr. Bateman, shall further declare unto your Lordship, at your good leisure. Thus, with my most hearty commendations, and my wife's also, I commit your good Lordship to God.

From Sheffield, this 4th of November, 1572.

Your Lordship's ever assured friend,

G. SHREWSBURY.

*To the right honourable my very good Lord, the
Lord Burghley, Lord Treasurer of England.*

No. LXXIV.

(Howard Papers.)

THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY TO LORD BURGHLEY.

My very good Lord,

THIS Queen, as may appear, is so discontented that she, having sundry times written unto the Queen's Majesty, is neither answered, nor suffered to receive out of France her money, or things needful for her use, as she cannot, with good patience, be contented to write to her Majesty at this time. She is within a few days become more melancholy than of long before, and complains of her wrongs and imprisonment; and, for remedy thereof, seems not to trust her Majesty, but altogether in foreign powers. By her talk she would make appear as both Spain and France sought her and her son; and, to keep them both her friends alike,

forbears to write to any of them. She would cunningly persuade that Spain in Ireland, and France in Scotland, intend some attempts. For Ireland, the Pope, she says, has licenced the King of Spain, as in his right, long since. This speech of hers is not without her accustomed threatenings, nor shows less enmity than of old.

My Lord, this her sudden disposition to talk so far of these matters, whereof a long time she has seemed scarce to think (no occasion thereof being given by me), presumes some intended practices of hers to be lately overthrown, for sure I am, her melancholy and grief are greater than she in words utters; and yet, rather than continue this imprisonment, she sticks not to say she will give her body, her son, and country, for liberty. And here she infers that D'Anjou, of France, and Don John de Austria, will seek places for their abode; and their Kings, of good policy, must needs further them thereto, the rather to have quietness at home. This she gives out to move some fear. God preserve her Majesty long in health; my care shall go no further. This is all I have to advertise your Lordship of at this time. I wish to your Lordship as well as to myself.

At Sheffield Castle, 2nd December, 1572.

Your Lordship's ever assured,

G. SHREWSBURY.

*To the right honourable my very good Lord
my Lord Burghley, Lord Treasurer of
England.*

No. LXXV.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. P. fol. 611.)

THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY TO LORD BURGHLEY.

My very good Lord,

I HEARTILY thank your good Lordship for seeking to satisfy her Majesty in some doubts she might conceive of me and my wife, upon information given to her Majesty; your Lordship therein doeth the part of a faithful friend; so I have always trusted, and you shall receive no dishonour thereby. My services and fidelity to her Majesty are such as I am persuaded with assured hope her Majesty, having proofs enough thereof, condemneth those who so untruly surmise, against my wife first, and now myself, either of us of undutiful dealing with this Queen, or myself of any carelessness in regarding my charge. As before I craved trial of whosoever is here noted of any indirect dealing with this Queen, so do I again require at your Lordship's hands to be amenable to her Majesty for due proof and punishment, as they merit, that her Majesty might be fully satisfied and quiet.

And for my riding abroad sometimes (not far from my charge), in respect of my health only; it has been well known to your Lordship from the first beginning of my charge, and it is true, I always gave order first for safe keeping of her, with a sure and stronger guard, both within my house and further off, than when myself was with her. I trusted none in my absence but those I had tried; true and faithful servants unto me, and like sub-



jects to her Majesty. I thank God my account of this weighty charge is ready, to her Majesty's contentation. No information nor surmise can make me shrink. Nevertheless, henceforth, her Majesty's commandment for my continual attendance upon this Lady shall be obeyed as her Majesty shall not dislike thereof; and even so, my Lord, I say to that part of your letters wherein a motion is made to me; that (as in all my services hitherto) I had, nor seek, neither contentment nor will, than shall stand with her Majesty's pleasure for her best service. And so, wishing to your Lordship as well as to myself, I take my leave.

At Sheffield Castle, this 9th of December, 1572.

Your Lordship's ever assured friend,

G. SHREWSBURY.

I have presumed to write to the Queen's Majesty to the same effect as to your Lordship.

*To the right honourable my very good Lord,
my Lord Burghley, Lord Treasurer of
England.*

No. LXXVI.

(Talbot Papers, Vol. F. fol. 73. 1572.)

THE EARL OF LEICESTER
TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

[This letter begins with a long genealogical account of the co-heiresses of Richard Earl of Warwick, the eldest of whom married John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, in the reign of Henry V. or IV. and proceeds as follows.]

— FOR the other matter your Lordship doth advertise me of, touching talk that Queen hath

had of me as of her enemy ; I beseech your Lordship friend me so much as to gather, as near as you can, the cause thereof. I must confess I am a true and faithful servant to mine own Sovereign, and therein have I respect to none other ; yet this I may justly say, I have been no aggravator of that Queen's cause, neither a hinderer of any favourable inclination that at any time I have found in the Queen's Majesty toward her ; neither will I rob her Majesty of her due desert, but must confess that her own goodness has had more natural consideration of that Queen than all the friends she has besides are able to challenge thanks for ; and as I am bound to be most careful for the safety and preservation of mine own Sovereign, every way, so neither have I been, or am I, any practiser to do ill offices against any others, and right sorry have I been when any cause has been given the Queen's Majesty to be moved, or to alter those good and princely dispositions which I have sundry times known her framed unto ; and before such times as these causes have barred me, so as in duty I could not be a dealer, I think I was rather thought a friend than an enemy, and of some too much ;* though I know best I was but

* Leicester, who had been privy to the Duke of Norfolk's plans from the beginning, had promised to lay them before Elizabeth, and to use his interest to obtain her consent to the marriage. He delayed it, however, from time to time, till the Queen herself seemed to detect the affair, and, by her conduct, gave the air of a plot to a matter that had been long openly talked of among the courtiers ; whereupon the Duke retired into the country, and Leicester was sharply reprimanded. It is highly probable that he acted thus by her express direction. The Queen of

as I ought, and so I mean to remain. But yet, my Lord, I beseech you, let me know what cause is now supposed: I am always content to take upon me my own fault, and have to do with none others.

I wrote your Lordship a letter by Bateman, being commanded by her Majesty to send your Lordship certain messages, whereof I know no other ground (to be plain with your Lordship) than was delivered me by her own mouth: nevertheless I perceive you have need to look well about you, for there are many eyes upon you. Howbeit, one thing your Lordship may take comfort of; for I find her Majesty to continue your assured good and gracious Lady, and to hold still her wonted good opinion of you. And so remaining always your Lordship's assured kinsman in all I may, I will for this time leave further to trouble you; committing your Lordship to the safe protection of the Almighty.

At the Court, this 10th of December.

Your Lordship's faithful and loving kinsman,

R. LEICESTER.

Your Lordship sent with your last a letter directed from that Queen to my Lord Treasurer and me. Among other things, it appears that she

Scots had been imprisoned under weak pretences; the Princes of Europe, and a large party of her own subjects, were making loud remonstrances; and it became necessary to criminate her by new charges. The plan, therefore, was suffered to ripen till Mary had disclosed a body of evidence against herself sufficient to justify the increased rigour with which she was now treated.

thought it strange that her letters were not delivered to the Queen's Majesty which she had sent ; and that certain servants, with stuff, and such like things for her, were kept back and restrained. I assure your Lordship on my faith and troth, I never heard of them, neither of her letters nor her servants, till I saw it written in her letter to my Lord and me. For my part, neither would I, nor durst I, keep any letter from her Majesty that was sent her ; beside, if I had heard of any such of her servants' causes, as to have repaired with such necessities for the Queen, I would not have foreborne to move the Queen's Majesty in it ; but, upon enquiry, I find the letters were delivered, though not so soon as they might have been ; but, surely, my Lord, I heard not of them myself, and so I pray your Lordship declare as you see occasion. I pray your Lordship commend me most heartily to my good Lady your wife.

*To the right honourable my very good Lord
and cousin, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Mar-
shal of England.*

END OF VOL. I.

B. BENSLEY, PRINTER.

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